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THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE IN HYDERABAD

(A CONNECTED ACCOUNT)

Vol. II

(1857–1885)

Published by

The Hyderabad State Committee appointed for the compilation of a History of the Freedom Movement in Hyderabad

1956

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FOREWORD

I am happy to see that the second volume of *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad* covering the period from 1857 to 1885 has also been prepared by the Committee in so short a time. I congratulate the members of the Committee on the expeditious execution of their undertaking.

B. Ramakrishna Rao,
Chief Minister.

'Shah Manzil,'
Hyderabad-Deccan,
September 21, 1956.

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PROEM

While placing the first volume of *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad* (1800 to 1857) before the public I had stated that the work on the second volume in this series was well-nigh ready. As the President of the Committee, I am delighted to say that the hint dropped by me was taken up seriously by the research scholars working under the guidance and inspiration of the Chairman of the Executive Committee Shri Gopal Rao Ekbote and our energetic Convener Shri Setu Madhav Rao, and now the State Committee has been able to publish this second volume, which deals with the period from 1857 upto the inception of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

It is well-known that the position of Hyderabad was always crucial in the politics of India. The War of Independence fought all over the country in 1857 could have transformed the history of India in 1857 alone, if Hyderabad and its then Prime Minister had read the writing on the wall. There was a large populace in the city which was seething with discontent along with a few companies of the Indian Army posted at Bowenpalli. On the 17th of July, 1857, an attack was made on the Hyderabad Residency in the afternoon by about 5,000 people led by Tura Baz Khan, but faced with superior weapons and the disciplined British soldiers the mob could do no harm to the stronghold of the Residency. Many persons were, however, killed from the besieging mob. The present volume will clearly reveal that the agitation of the people was deep-rooted and widespread. As is well-known the Hindus and the Muslims had allied themselves in this great struggle to free the motherland from the shackles of the foreigners.

Great Moulavis like Alauddin had openly preached in the Mecca Masjid at Hyderabad that he who co-operated with the British in stabilising and perpetuating their stay was an enemy of Islam and deserved to be treated so. From the text-books of history we learn that Col. Davidson, the then Resident, and his soldiers displayed great valour and that they were on safer ground because the enlightened public in Hyderabad was not affected by disloyal tendencies. The State Committee sent its research scholars to New Delhi and they were able to ransack the correspondence

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between the Resident and the Secretary to the Government of India regarding this incident. The version it gives is at variance with the true position.

In a letter dated July 23, 1857, Col. Davidson writes, " Common rumour has it that the movement was arranged by Shamsul Umra's youngest son Iktedar-ul-Mulk with a view to oust Salar Jung from the Ministry ". This event shows that the aristocracy desired a political change and the general masses were eager to support them. In the same letter Davidson further on says, " Neither the Minister nor the noblemen of the Nizam's darbar can control their followers and the only way is to meet force by force. I should have no hesitation in meeting the whole armed population of Hyderabad, with every armed retainer and follower the nobles could bring into the field with the present subsidiary force, were we certain of the native troops, but we must not close our eyes to the fact that they have been tampered with ..... " We have been able to secure full evidence of the proceedings of the cases against Tura Baz Khan and Moulvi Alauddin and of the escape of Tura Baz Khan and the transportation of Alauddin to the Andamans. The names of these two adventurers deserve to be remembered by the historians of the freedom movement of 1857.

This volume narrates the incidents relating to the exploits of Raja Venkatappa Naik of Shorapur, who notwithstanding his connection with Colonel Meadows Taylor as his tutor and guardian, for a long time cherished the ambition of gaining political independence. He had been building up a large army and the British Residency had begun to suspect his loyalties. The very next year, *i.e.*, in 1858 when a British force was sent to Shorapur by the Resident, in February, Colonel Newberry was killed in a clash with the Rohillas at Shorapur.

Raja Venkatappa Naik hurriedly marched to Hyderabad. Nobody sympathized with him and he was handed over to the Resident. The trial of Raja Venkatappa Naik revealed that a general plan of insurrection was hatched in the Southern Maratha country and the northern Karnatak, the centres of which were Miraj, Kolhapur, Naragund, Kopbal, Raichur and Shorapur. The Raja had engaged one Mahipal Singh, the son of Jawahar Singh, as his emissary to approach all the potentates. Venkatappa was tried and

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sentenced to death but the sentence was later commuted to transportation for life. It was further reduced to imprisonment for a few years but he ended his life like a brave soldier by shooting himself with a revolver.

Then we have the thrilling account of the exploits of Bhim Rao Desai of Mundergi, who captured the fort of Kopbal protected with double walls and containing a lofty citadel. Major Hughes was negotiating with Bhim Rao Desai but the brave warrior and his lieutenant Kenchan Gowda fell fighting between the gateways of the fort.

The scare of the arrival of Tatya Tope in the Deccan had made the British restless for a long time but only a few of Tatya's emissaries came into Hyderabad. Syed Ghulam Husain *alias* Mastan Miya, the Jagirdar of Jawla near Basmatnagar, had also shown some sparks of valour. Sonajee Pandit, a *Daftardar* in the estate of the Raja Rai Rayan had addressed a letter to Nana Saheb Peshwa at Kanpur in February 1857. The letter was carried by Rang Rao Pagay, who later secured orders from Nana Saheb to all the leading people in the Deccan to rise against the British. The copies of these orders have been discovered in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad. One of the orders says, " Let it be known that in Hindusthan the Hindus and the Muhammadans, having been provoked to stand up together to defend their faiths, have attacked the camps of the Sahebs and they have been slain everywhere." This indicates the prevailing temper of the people.

Colonel Davidson, the Resident, returned to Hyderabad in February 1859 from a visit to Calcutta. He wanted to present an important *Kharita* from the Governor-General to the Nizam ceremonially. A Darbar was held on the 15th of March 1859. After the Darbar the Prime Minister and the Resident were returning arm-in-arm from the palace of the Nizam. At this moment one Jahangir Khan discharged ' the contents of a carbine loaded with slugs,' at the Resident and finding that it had wounded the servant of the Minister and not the Resident he rushed with a drawn sword, but was held up before he could wound the Resident.

Then there were several other adventurers and pretenders who declared themselves as the Rajas of Satara and their commandants. Their identity could not be determined. But these people possessed extraordinary courage

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and had charming and persuasive manners but sufficient organization could never take place in their endeavours. The whole career of Sir Salar Jung I (1853-83) synchronizes with this period. In the early phase of his career Salar Jung had to stem the tide of a sweeping political agitation that had permeated the State. He introduced his famous Reforms in 1867. It is surprising to note that even with all the admiration he had for western culture, he too was not loyal to the British, though the popular notion is to the contrary. There is a letter by Lord Lytton addressed to Sir Richard Meade which reads as follows, "My dear Sir Richard, ... The intrigues of Sir Salar Jung were regarded by me as the greatest danger to which the British Power in India was exposed during my Viceroyalty —a danger far greater than any which was involved in war or famine."

Wasudev Balwant Phadke, the famous Maratha revolutionary of Poona, who rose against the British in 1879 had taken shelter in the border villages in the Gulbarga district and for some time at the famous Dattatraya temple at Gangapur. All the Brahmin Pujaris of the temple were arrested but Wasudev Balwant was not found there. He could be discovered at Devangiri in the Bijapur district. His trial revealed that Ismail Khan and other Rohillas from Hyderabad were promised service by Wasudev Balwant and a large force was to be organised in the State against the British.

The Rampa rebellion on the borders of the Khammamet district and the Rekapalli rebellion in the Bhadrachalam taluq, which bring out graphically the conflict of the spirit of independence with alien rule, nonetheless, did not pass off without causing repercussions in our State.

I understand that though committees for the acquisition of material for the compilation of a history of the Freedom Movement were formed in all the States, it is the Hyderabad State Committee alone which has succeeded in bringing out at least two volumes relating to this neglected and obscure but very significant period of the Freedom History.

The Convener, Sri Setu Madhav Rao, has shown me that material for the third and fourth volumes is also ready. It is to be hoped that it would be possible to publish these volumes in the near future.

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I would like to congratulate the members of the Executive Committee for having acquitted themselves so well in the discharge of their duties, and for having shown that though late in acquiring independence, they are the first in publishing the history of this struggle.

K. S. VAIDYA, M.A., LL.B.,
President,
Hyderabad State Committee,
History of Freedom Movement in India,
and Speaker, Hyderabad Legislative Assembly.

Hyderabad-Deccan,
September 20, 1956.

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PREFACE

It is a matter of great pleasure for me as Vice-Chairman of the Hyderabad State Committee for the compilation of a History of the Freedom Movement in India and the Chairman of its Executive Committee to be associated with the publication of the second volume of *The Freedom Struggle in Hyderabad.* This volume covers the period from 1857 to 1885. The research scholars have been able to unearth important papers relating to the role of Hyderabad in the First War of Independence of 1857. Hyderabad played a considerable part in this outbreak. The attack on the Residency, the insurrection in Aurangabad, the attempts of the Raja of Shorapur against the British, the capture of the fort of Kopbal by Bhim Rao Mundargi and his subsequent death in defending it, the conspiracy of Ranga Rao, the insurrection in the district of Parbhani and the arrival of Rao Saheb Peshwa in Hyderabad in 1862 are some of the important events which occurred in Hyderabad during this War of Independence. As late as 1867 the echoes of this war were heard in the famous Bhalki Conspiracy case. In the published histories of this war there is hardly any mention of many of the above events. Thanks to the research work done by the scholars of the Committee this material is now forthcoming for the first time. This volume should now dispel the commonly held assumption that during 1857 the Deccan was for the most part quiet and peaceful.

During the period under review the State was visited by the noted Maratha revolutionary Wasudev Balwant Phadke in 1879. He, no doubt, attracted considerable sympathy in the western districts of Hyderabad. There were also strong repercussions of the Rampa Rebellion of 1879 in the eastern districts of Hyderabad.

With the improvement in the administration of the State as a result of the efforts of Salar Jung, Hyderabad was able to attract a number of talented people from outside. With the growth of education, an educated middle class came into existence. The press, both English and Urdu, also made its appearance about this time. In the public awakening of Hyderabad men like Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and Mulla Abdul Qayum played a great role in those days. The attitude of the English and Urdu press was also bold and

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independent and resulted in the formation of a strong public opinion. Dr. Aghornath's deportation from Hyderabad in 1883 as a result of the agitation against the Chanda Railway Scheme was the first constitutional agitation in Hyderabad. When the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, it attracted wide support and sympathy in Hyderabad.

The period covered in this volume is an important one in the history of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad. The research scholars of the Committee under the lead of Shri P. Setu Madhav Rao have succeeded in presenting a connected and readable account of this period based on original records. It is hoped that this volume will prove useful to the public in general and to the students of history in particular. The publication of this volume could not have been made possible but for the great interest which Dr. B. Ramakrishna Rao, our Chief Minister, took in keenly following the progress of the work. The State Committee owes a deep debt of gratitude to him.

The publication of the third volume covering the period from 1885 to 1920 is under the consideration of the State Committee.

GOPAL RAO EKBOTE,
Vice-President,
Hyderabad State Committee,
History of Freedom Movement in India,
and Education Minister, Government of Hyderabad.

Hyderabad-Deccan,
September 19, 1956.

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INTRODUCTION

It is a matter for deep gratification that the second volume of *TheFreedom Struggle in Hyderabad* dealing with the period from 1857-1885 is being published. The centenary celebrations of the First War of Independence of 1857 are due to take place some time next year. A major portion of this volume which is being published deals with the glorious share of Hyderabad in this war of independence. It was commonly held that India south of the Narmada was, on the whole, quiet in 1857. This view is not correct, at least, as far as the State of Hyderabad is concerned. The research scholars of the State Committee have succeeded in bringing to light important papers preserved in the Central Records Office which will show that Hyderabad in 1857 and the succeeding years was seething with disaffection and was the scene of a number of conspiracies, insurrections and movements. The outbreak of troops in Aurangabad in June 1857, the disaffection in the Subsidiary and Contingent troops of Hyderabad, the attack on the Residency, the insurrection of the Raja of Shorapur and the rising of Bhim Rao Mundergi at Kopbal were known to students of history, but the conspiracy at Bhir, the efforts of Ranga Rao Page (who succeeded in getting letters from Nana Saheb Peshwa and in his attempt to bring out a rising in Kolas was captured and sentenced to transportation for life), the arrival of Rao Saheb Peshwa, the nephew of Nana Saheb, in Hyderabad in 1862 and the subsequent trial and punishment of 40 leading men in the city of Hyderabad, the conspiracy of Ram Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur at Bhalki in 1867 were all practically unknown to the public. The insurrection led by the Rohillas calling themselves the adherents of Nana Saheb Peshwa and the uprising of the Gonds of Adilabad district under the leadership of Ramji Gond were also unknown. These have been brought to light for the first time in this volume. There was a close link between the followers of Tatya Tope and the leaders in Hyderabad throughout the period from 1857-1859. In the suffering that visited hundreds of families following this war Hyderabad too had its share. The execution of the leaders of insurrection at Aurangabad when one was hanged, 23 shot dead and 3 blown from cannon, the loss of life of nearly 30 persons in the attack on the Residency, the stubborn defence put up by Bhim Rao Desai and

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his heroic end, the suicide of Raja Venkatappa Naik of Shorapur, the death of Tura Baz Khan, the transportation of Ala-ud-Din and Ranga Rao, the execution by hanging of Ramji Gond are but a small indication of the loss of life which occurred in Hyderabad during this period. There are also records of more than 70 persons executed at Kopbal, scores of Bhils killed in the Vaizapur taluq of the Aurangabad district and a similar number of Rohillas killed in the Basmath taluq of the Parbhani district. Imprisonment for life or for varying periods was inflicted on hundreds of people. Property worth lakhs was confiscated. Thus Hyderabad had its full share in the fiery ordeal of this great war of 1857.

The Bhalki conspiracy of 1867 was the last of the echoes of the outbreak of 1857. Reforms promulgated by Sir Salar Jung I began to have their effect in the orderly progress of the State. He was supported by the British during the early part of his tenure when the Nizam Afzal-ud-Daula was ruling. But when Salar Jung took up the question of Berar and began to refer to the treaty rights, the Government of India changed their policy towards him. Their efforts were now directed to restrict the activities of Salar Jung by imposing Viqar-ul-Omrah, a nobleman and an enemy of Salar Jung, as the Co-regent during the minority of the Nizam Mir Mahboob Ali Khan. Lord Lytton's remark that Salar Jung was a danger to the British Empire illustrates the view which the Government of India took of Salar Jung's activities during the later period of his tenure as Prime Minister of Hyderabad.

Thanks to the progress of communications, Hyderabad was linked with Western India by rail in 1878 for the first time and contacts of Hyderabad with the other parts of the country increased. With the various branches of the administration starting to function in full order the need for personnel to run them became apparent. A number of talented persons from various parts of the country were attracted to Hyderabad either for service or for independent living. It was these persons like Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya from Bengal, Mulla Abdul Qayum and Ramchandra Pillay from Madras, Syed Aqil, a journalist from Delhi, Mohib Hussain, the pioneer of journalism in Hyderabad from Itawa, who succeeded in bringing about a public awakening in the State before the inception of the Indian National Congress. The arrival of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, the great Pan-Asian Missionary in 1879 resulted in a quick-

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ening interest in Hyderabad in the affairs of the Middle East. While the administration of Hyderabad was supporting the British policies inside and outside the country, the press in Hyderabad was bold and critical in its appraisal of the policies of the British in the Middle East and India. The measures of Lord Ripon which evoked bitter criticism from the Anglo-Indian press and other vested interests, received warm support from the press in Hyderabad. The attitude of the press and public resentment against British policies in and outside Hyderabad resulted in the first constitutional agitation in 1883 when Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Sabhapati and others protested against the negotiations of the Hyderabad Government with the British Companies for the extension of the railway. Dr. Aghornath's arrest and deportation in 1883 is the first sign of constitutional agitation in Hyderabad. With the public opinion as it had been formed at this time, it was not surprising that the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was hailed enthusiastically in Hyderabad. This new-born institution was criticised by leading members of the administration such as Mohasin-ul-Mulk, but was enthusiastically supported by Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya, Mulla Abdul Qayum, Mohib Hussain, Ramchandra Pillay and others.

As remarked above, important papers relating to the period have been brought to light through the labours of the research scholars of the State Committee. The Committee is grateful to the Hyderabad Government for affording facilities to its research scholars to do research work in various offices like the Central Records Office and the Home Department and to the Director of the National Archives, New Delhi, for facilities afforded to its research scholars at the said office and to all those who co-operated in providing material for the first and second volumes.

The research scholars of the State Committee are now engaged in compiling a connected account of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad for the period 1885-1920. It is hoped that the publication of the third volume will be possible in the near future.

P. Setu Madhav Rao, M.A., I.A.S.,
Convener,
Hyderabad State Committee,
History of Freedom Movement in India,
and Secretary to Government, Education Department.

Hyderabad-Deccan,
September 29, 1956.

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Chapter I

HYDERABAD ON THE EVE OF 1857

A treaty between the Nizam and the East India Company was concluded in the month of May 1853, *i.e.*, only four years before 1857. By this treaty the Nizam assigned the districts of Berar, Osmanabad and Raichur to the East India Company in lieu of the expenditure incurred on the Nizam's Contingent. Soon after, the then Prime Minister Siraj-ul-Mulk died on 27th May, 1853. He was succeeded by his nephew Salar Jung I as the Diwan. The Nizam Nasir-ud-Dowla's reign was now drawing to a close. The loss of Berar was very keenly felt by people of all classes in Hyderabad. There was always a strong current of anti-British feelings in the State of Hyderabad from 1800 onwards. This was the year in which the Subsidiary Alliance was forged between the Nizam and the East India Company. Remnants of the French trained troops reorganised and placed under the command of Raja Mahipat Ram cherished under his encouragement violent anti-British sentiments. The fight which Raja Mahipat Ram put up against the British and their protege Meer Alum, the Prime Minister, reveals the depth of popular hatred against the British in the Hyderabad State. One of the reasons which prompted Resident Russell to organize a part of the Nizam's army under British Officers was to do away with the anti-British sentiments entertained by the Nizam's forces and their officers. The gradual swelling of the Contingent and the supreme control exercised by the Resident over it, the mode of its recruitment and the exclusion of men from the Deccan from its ranks was a thorn which rankled in the hearts of the people. The fortunes of the English in India were followed very keenly by the people in Hyderabad. The city was always a centre of numerous bands of people coming from all parts of India. In the earlier part of the 19th century hundreds of Arabs sought service with the Nizam and they soon became strong enough to disturb the peaceful administration of the State. Adventurous Rohillas and Afghans from the North-West migrated to the Deccan during this period. Raja Chandulal attracted a number of Sikhs from the Punjab. Thus the city of Hyderabad was never devoid

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of contacts with the other parts of India. It was in this soil that anti-British sentiments took strong roots. The most notable example of anti-British activities is the Wahabi Conspiracy of 1839. At this time preachers from the North came to Hyderabad and spread themselves all over the Deccan and the South and preached Jehad against the English. The conspiracy was discovered and Mubarez-ud-Dowlah, the brother of Nasir-ud-Dowlah, was apprehended along with 40 of his associates. The Nawab of Kurnool who was in league with the Wahabis was attacked and after a brief struggle was arrested and his State was absorbed. A Commission of Enquiry to try Mubarez-ud-Dowlah was set up. During the course of enquiry it was revealed how wide the ramifications of the conspiracy were. Attempts were also discovered of tampering with the loyalty of the troops in the Subsidiary and Contingent forces of Hyderabad. Mubarez-ud-Dowlah was confined in the fort of Golconda where he remained until his death in 1854. Ten of his associates also served long terms of imprisonment until they were released a few years before 1857. The spirit of disaffection against the British thus remained constant throughout the middle of the 19th century. In the districts there were many spots where violent anti-British feelings existed. The district of Raichur had passed under the East India Company in conformity with the treaty of 1853. But the harsh treatment meted out to the Zamindars of the district by the British, generated a wave of popular resentment in the district.

The district of Gulbarga-Shorapur, the home of the turbulent Bedars, was always a problem for the administrators of that area. In the western districts like Bhir, Osmanabad, Aurangabad and Bidar, agents of the displaced Raja of Satara, (which State had been annexed in 1848), were actively fomenting trouble among the Maharatta population. Till lately Berar had witnessed great disturbances caused by the pretenders of Appa Saheb Bhonsle of Nagpur. With such conditions obtaining in the city and the State of Hyderabad it is not surprising that the outbreak of 1857 should have created strong repercussions in the Deccan. Remarks Capt. Hastings Fraser[1]:—

" After the termination of the mutinies several thousands of Poorbeahs flocked to the Nizam's capital, and their

1. *Our Faithful Ally, the Nizam* by Captain Hastings Fraser, pp. 288-289.

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bearing showed that they were men who had been subject to military discipline. The turbulent population of the city already consisted of every class of military adventurers. I cannot term the Arabs so any longer; but Rohillas, Sikhs, Scindians, Africans, Toorks and Moghuls, and the worst of all, the half-caste progeny of all these enumerated, added to the recent accessions, probably numbered 26,000 men in a total population of some 3,00,000, nearly every man of whom carried weapons, while many thousands of the dangerous class of adventurers were armed to the teeth. With such population, it is not surprising that attempts were made to tamper with the sepoys at Secunderabad, the headquarters of the subsidiary force, situated about five miles from the capital. The circumstances were reported by Colonel Davidson, who impressed upon the Government the necessity of adopting effectual means of counteracting the evil, and of securing the fidelity of our native troops. Towards the end of the year (1857) he renewed his representations with especial reference to the location of a larger European force, in future, at Secunderabad. In consequence of these representations, the force was increased by a regiment of dragoons, a corps of European infantry, and some artillery."

Among the armed forces available in Hyderabad on the eve of 1857 were the Subsidiary forces, the Hyderabad Contingent and the Irregular troops of the Nizam. The Subsidiary forces quartered at this time at Secunderabad consisted of[1]:—

Europeans:—

One troop Horse Artillery.

One Battery.

One Regiment of Foot.

Natives:—

One troop Horse Artillery.

One Regiment Cavalry.

Five Regiments Infantry, each 1,000 strong.

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1. *The Nizam* by H. G. Briggs, Vol. II, p. 76.

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The Hyderabad Contingent was reorganized after the treaty of 1853 as a result of which the strength of the reorganized force was as follows[1]:—

	Officers	Warrant & Non-commissioned officers	Cavalry	Infantry and Artillery	Followers	Guns
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Staff	5	4	..	..	..	..
Cavalry	16	10	2,300	..	96	..
Artillery and Ordnance ..	4	18	..	768	176	24
Infantry	24	24	..	5,514	372	..
Total ..	49	56	2,300	6,282	644	24

Writing in 1861 H. G. Briggs gives the details of the Hyderabad Contingent Forces as follows[2]:—

"The contingent, as at present constituted, consists of five regiments of cavalry, eight regiments of infantry, four companies of artillery with field batteries attached, and a corps of hill rangers, together with an efficient medical department, and arsenals at the principal military stations, equipped with siege-ordnance, ammunition, and stores of every description. In numbers the force may be thus detailed:—

Cavalry	2750	fighting men.
Artillery	725	ditto.
Infantry	5752	ditto.
Hill Rangers	170	ditto.
Total of all native ranks ..	9397	

1. *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent* by R. G. Burton, p. 140.
2. *The Nizam* by H. G. Briggs, Vol. II, p. 76.

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The European officers, of whom there are eighty-four, are distributed as follows:—

	Lieut-Colonels	Majors	Captain Commandants	Captains	Lieutenants	Surgeons	Asst. Surgeons	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Military Secretary ..	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Officers Commanding Divisions.	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	5
Superintending Surgeon.	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Brigade-Majors ..	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
Paymasters (in course of absorption).	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
Cavalry	0	0	1	8	6	4	1	20
Artillery	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	5
Infantry	0	0	8	22	7	8	0	45
	2	4	10	41	13	13	1	84

There are besides thirty-seven European warrant and non-commissioned officers, and a medical staff of fifty-five subordinates."

These contingent forces were stationed at Ellichpoor, Aurangabad, Mominabad, Gulbarga, Hingoli, Bolarum, Warangal, Makhtal, Lingusugur and in the hill ranges of Buldhana to protect that part of hilly country. From these stations judiciously spread over the entire Nizam's Dominions they were able to easily march to any place within the region of their operational command with a view to quelling any local disturbances.

The Nizam's troops, on the other hand, were hardly trained. Their numbers were estimated at about 30,000, consisting of poorly trained troops like the *Linewallas,* besides a number of irregular cavalry and infantry units. These were under the control and command of their *Jamedars* and consisted of Sikhs, Arabs, Rohillas and others. From a military point of view they were of very little use. There were a number of powerful Rohilla and Arab chiefs who held considerable areas of the State either for the maintenance of their troops or for the debts which the State owed

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to them. The presence of such turbulent bands was always a source of disturbance to the tranquillity of the State.

At the beginning of 1857 Col. Davidson took charge as Resident at Hyderabad, Mr. Bushby, his predecessor, having died on the 30th of December 1856. The Nizam, Nasir-ud-Dowla, died on the 16th of May, 1857 and was succeeded by his son Afzal-ud-Dowla. Salar Jung continued as Minister under both these rulers.

A week before the death of the Nizam, Nasir-ud-Dowla, the first outbreak in connection with the War of Independence of 1857 had occurred at Meerut on the 10th of May 1857, when the native troops rose against their officers and marched to Delhi which they captured and proclaimed Bahadur Shah as the Emperor of India. This news reached Hyderabad and created a critical situation in the State. Surveying the situation at that time Col. Davidson in his Administration Report for 1858-59 says[1]:—

"It would lengthen this report too much to explain how this was so happily achieved; but in contrasting the condition of Hyderabad during the rebellion of 1857 with other provinces of the Indian Empire, whose administrations were entirely under our own officers, it should never be forgotten that one of the greatest sources of uneasiness the British authorities there had to contend with was that the whole resources of the State were not under their own immediate control, and however friendly the executive of the native Government was, it might at any instant have become powerless, as was repeatedly nearly the case, under the influence of some popular and fanatical cry, calling for the destruction of the infidels and the extermination of all Christians with their friends.

"The state of Hyderabad and the Nizam's dominions was no doubt most critical, and a source of constant alarm throughout the two last years to the neighbouring Governments and entreaties for early intelligence were received from the surrounding authorities from all quarters. Still peace, seemingly unhoped for, to the surprise of everyone was maintained at Hyderabad, and that, too, in spite of the elements of insurrection being there as rife, and if not more so, yet at least in an equal degree as in any other part the most troubled in India.

1. *The Nizam* by H. G. Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 84-86.

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"The insurrectionary movements in the Mahratta States of Holkar and Scindia, except as a general means of excitement to subvert our power, were never regarded with any favour at Hyderabad; indeed, a general Mahratta movement, having a probability of success, would have at once enlisted on our side the old hereditary and ever-cherished 'Moglaee' animosity against their former and national foe, the Mahrattas, and there is no doubt the Nizam and his own immediate army would have been easily induced to take the field in our favour on such an event and in such a cause.

"Gwalior fell, and was retaken without a sign, except a few passing remarks at Hyderabad, and although a rising in favour of Tantia Topee was latterly planned by emissaries sent by the Nana, it, as far as it went, was only joined by some of the most impoverished and desperate characters of the Durbar, while the Deccan Mahommedans of the contingent were perfectly willing, as of old, to be led against Scindia and Holkar, which they believed was the case when they first took the field to join the Bombay troops in Malwa.

"While this was the feeling towards the Mahrattas, it was very different in regard to the Mahommedan cause; every eye was turned towards Delhi and Lucknow, and news of every kind was eagerly sought and paid for. Disastrous rumours of the wildest kind, hostile to the British Government, were prevalent and always acceptable to the fanatical and warlike classes of the population; letters of the most treasonable and seditious character were intercepted from Aurangabad, Bhopal, Ahmedabad, Belgaum, Kurnool and Mysore; and there cannot be a doubt that, had a popular leader arisen, Hyderabad would have been speedily in a State of insurrection as it had already been of sedition, but fortunately no one of rank, wealth, and position could rise after the unsuccessful attack on the Residency in July 1857, which was the culminating point of our troubles at Hyderabad, and also as it was plain to all that the British Government were determined to fight the battle to the last and at all hazards, wherever insurrection showed itself."

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Chapter II

MOVEMENTS IN THE CITY OF HYDERABAD IN MAY AND JUNE, 1857

The news of the outbreak in Northern India reached Hyderabad apace. The early reverses of the British created a sensation in the city where the anti-British feelings were very strong. Secret meetings began to be held attended by all classes of people.

Inflammatory speeches were made at mosques and placards and posters began to appear on the walls of the mosques and other buildings, exhorting people to start *Jehad* or a holy war against the British. A few samples of these posters which appeared either in Persian or Urdu, are given below:—

(1)

" The oath of the Almighty is on him who does not read this paper.	The aid of the Almighty and his Prophet is present with Afzul-ood-Dowla Bahadur who should not fear or be apprehensive. If fearful he should wear bangles and sit at home.

If Afzul-ood-Dowla does not act on this paper, another Soobah will be ready from Delhi.

This proclamation (*Izaharnamah*) is written for the faith and Islam of Mahomad Mustapha Sullullao Allaha Wo Sulum for the stability of the Reign in the Deccan and War (*Jehad*) against the infidels.

In the month of Ramzan the sword fell on Delhi, besides ten other places, but up to the time there is laxity (delay) in the region of the Deccan—what is the reason of this? It would appear that the re-establishment of the Delhi throne (*Takhta*) by the followers of Islam is not congenial to the feelings of the people of the Deccan but it is necessary and appears desirable that without any delay the *Zamindars, Cazees,* etc., should be brought together and after giving them courage and confidence they should be ordered to make war with the infidels. If not in a year or two hence Afzul-ood-Dowla Bahadur and Salar Jung will have to work on the roads. If as stated above the order for war is not

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given your title will be cursed and your minister's (*Dewan*) rank and pedigree (*Asubo nusfubo*) will be repudiated. If any Moulavi or Alim does not give a *futwah* on what I have said, his seven generations will be cursed and repudiated. If after reading this paper or hearing of it, a representation is not made to the king or his *Dewan* the oath of the Swine is on him and if in the case of a Hindu the oath of the Cow.

Yah Allah, increase the faith of Islam.

If this paper is removed from this place the curse of God and his Prophet will rest on the person removing it.

Amen *Amen* *Amen*"[1]

(2)

"*In the name of God Almighty, the most Gracious and benevolent of all*

It is a greeting from God to all the Muslims that success and God's help is fast approaching. A Muslim who resolves to kill a *Kafir, i.e.,* a Christian, and delays will be cut off from the society and called a descendant of the pariah caste, of a pig, and of a dog. He will be a descendant of *Yazeed and Shumar.* It is an oath on God to a Muslim whether he is rich or poor, or the *Dewan,* or spiritual head, or *Moulvi, Kazi, Mufti, Suba,* or *Kootwal,* to participate in the task and get the blessings of God. If he succeeds he will be called a victor (*Ghazi*). If he dies he will be counted among those who died in the holy wars and will get a place in the Bliss. God's command is unquestionable. He commands to kill the unbelievers wherever they are found. So why do you hesitate and delay and lose precious time? You will repent for it afterwards. We don't worry whether you take part in it or keep aloof. But you should take courage to start with all your power. So gather under the Holy flag, and start on that mission. The unbelievers will be over-powered and fly away with great panic. In Delhi, this mission has been started for twelve miles (*manzil*) in the name of the king. It is essential and befitting for the chief of this place, Mir Tahniat Ali Khan Bahadur, Afzul-ud-Dowla, to undertake the mission by collecting all the Muslims, and suppress the *Kafirs* and then advance to Delhi. Otherwise great panic will come to this place. The Muslims have been informed to take their own course. They should gather on Friday, 25th Shawal 1273, at the Mecca Masjid, and start agitation from there, so that

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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we may also join them from our place. Whoever will remove this poster will be called a descendant of the great unbeliever *Yazeed*."[1]

(3)

"In the name of God, the most Gracious and Benevolent of all.

The nobles of this place are the descendants of Christians. They murdered Nawab Nasir-ud-Doula by spell, so that the Britisher, their overlord, may come today. When asked, they explained that they would live in peace. If the poor people are asked they reply that the nobles are responsible and they have no concern with it. They say that they get their bread easily so they will not involve themselves in danger. Hence the people of Hyderabad, great and small, may be regarded as the sons of Fire-worshippers (*Majusi*) and of Christians, for seven generations. Whoever will not come out for *Jehad* on 25th Shawal will be cut off from the society even for seven generations. He will be called a descendant of the family of a pig, a dog, and an ass. Therefore, prepare yourself for *Jehad* in the name of God. There is not much time to think over it."[2]

* * *

Attempts were made to tamper with the loyalty of the soldiers of the Subsidiary forces. A *fakir* was also apprehended by an Arab *Jamedar* and handed over to the Minister Salar Jung. The *faqir* was found haranguing to the population, asking them to rise against the British and informing them that they were sure to be joined by the Secunderabad Regiments.

The following correspondence from the Hyderabad Residency Records will throw light on the situation in Hyderabad in May and June of 1857:—

(1)

"To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honour to request that you will submit the correspondence as per margin for the information of Rt. Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

1. From unpublished records in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.
2. *Ibid.*

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2. There is little doubt in my mind that we yesterday passed over a serious crisis at Hyderabad. On the 10th instant I was informed that a day had been fixed for a general rising and that seditious persons were busy in the City. One of the principal Moulavies was mentioned as particularly active and I sent my assistant Capt. Thornhill to communicate with the Minister on the subject. He informed me that all remained quiet but that he would take further precautions and that if anything specific could be alleged against Moualvi Ibrahim he would have him at once arrested as he knew him to be a seditious character. The Nizam in the evening sent for the Moualvi and threatened him with the severest punishment in case of his interfering in any public affairs at present. I have since heard he is confined to his house by real or pretended sickness.

1. Letter from Salar Jung.
2. Letter from Salar Jung.
3. Placard received from a private source.
4. Placard received with Salar Jung's letter No. 1.
5. Official letter from the Minister with translation.

3. On the 11th the City and the Bazars continued to be agitated by rumours, one of which was that our Regiment at Secunderabad would assuredly join in any rising against the British Government. This was supposed to allude to the 1st. Madras N I. whose conduct was then under investigation for a refusal to obey orders when directed to march during the late relief.

4. It is not for me to question the propriety of that corps having been sent by the Madras Government to Secunderabad to undergo investigation and perhaps coercion for its unsoldierlike conduct and I trust now that the investigation is over and it has been allowed to return to duty that it will remain loyal, but as a general principle it appears to be absolutely requisite that all the corps at Secunderabad should be known to be both faithful and loyal and that stations within our own frontier should be selected for bringing corps into subjection and good discipline as it must be a matter of very doubtful expediency and policy, cantoning them near a seditious and inflammable native population like that of Hyderabad when they are already known to be discontented or disaffected.

5. On my coming back to the Residency from attending a parade at Secunderabad yesterady morning (12th inst.) when all the forces were out in marching orderfully

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equipped and with all the ammunition, I found the Minister's confidential Munshi Jamsetjee awaiting my return and he informed me that a *faqueer* had been apprehended during the night addressing the populace and calling on them to unite in an insurrection and that they would be joined by the 'Bowenpally Fauj'.

6. The 7th Madras Cavalry and the Rifle Depot of instruction are the troops immediately cantoned at that village and I communicated to Brigadier Coffin the purport of the Minister's note and also sent him for perusal the various documents accompanying this dispatch.

7. I replied to the Minister that he was to place the *faqueer* in irons and send him to me for examination. He proved to be a Bowenpally Camp follower and is now in custody under Brigadier Coffin's orders. I further stated that I understood the *Irhud Jehad* was to be proclaimed that day and he must make arrangements to have the parties doing so at once arrested. When my office opened I addressed him in writing saying it was not sufficient that those who uttered seditious language should merely be warned away by those to whom they spoke but they should be taken into custody and punished and also that His Highness should give directions to all his nobles high and low to do so. This was at once done. I begged also that he would inform His Highness that I had ordered the reinforcement of the Residency Escort by six guns and a squadron of the 2nd Cavalry of the Contingent.

8. The knowledge of this and the prompt measures Salar Jung took at the time of the Kootbah being read in the Mosque when as it will be seen it was attempted to proclaim the *Jehad* has allayed all excitement, and confidence has, I am glad to say, been restored to the well-disposed and wealthy inhabitants by the display of the Additional Troops at the Residency, the actual number of which as I expected having been largely exaggerated.

9. His Highness both by words and deeds proves that he is determined to suppress all revolt with a high hand observing that he will prove the sincerity of his alliance with the British Government by assisting it by every measure in his power.

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10. All the nobles with a very few exceptions and also the respectable and the influential classes of the Native Community remain staunch and faithful to us.

11. I propose to review the Troops at Secunderabad on Monday morning when I shall address the 7th Madras Cavalry on the part of the Government as I do not choose that such foul aspersions against their fidelity and loyalty should be placed on record and remain concealed from them and uncontradicted. I have not myself the slightest reason to doubt them as I believe they have been merely named because they belong to the classes of Arcot Muhamadens who are known to be always more or less fanatical about their religion.

Hyderabad Residency,
13*th June,* 1857.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) C. DAVIDSON,
Resident."[1]

(2)

"*Translation of a note from the Minister* (*to the Resident*) *dated* 12*th June,* 1857/18*th Shawwal,* 1273.

Yesterday evening at sunset an unknown individual in the garb of a *fakeer* or perhaps as a real one, came to the vicinity of Ghalib Jung Bahadur's residence and in a loud tone expressed calumnious language to the people to the effect that he was sent by the Bowenpally *Fouj* etc. and that the *Fouj* in question was prepared to create a disturbance; that it was necessary that the city people also should join them. On hearing this Ghalib Jung brought the man (*fakeer*) to my residence. When I summoned him to my presence and questioned him, he repeated the same language in my hearing and stated his place of residence as being Bowenpally. I immediately therefore informed the Kotwalee and now send him to you with this note for disposal in such manner as you may deem proper.

The city Kotwal has received stringent orders (that) if any other such character is found expressing such unbecoming language he is to be without delay apprehended and the same intimated to me."[2]

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.
2. *Ibid.*

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(3)

"To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,
Secretary to the Government of India,
Foreign Department,
Fort William.

SIR,

I have the honour with reference to the last para of my despatch No. 35, dated the 13th instant to forward the accompanying papers as per margin for submission to Rt. Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

2. I regret to report to the Government of India that my opinion of the loyalty of the native troops of the Subsidiary force has completely altered since I despatched my letter No. 35 of 13th instant and I believe our only reliance for continuance of peace in the Deccan must be placed on the fidelity of the Native Government and I sincerely trust that after the present crisis has passed over the British Government will not forget what it has owed to His Highness the Nizam and his most able Minister.

1. From Resident to Brigadier Coffin.
2. Address to Capt. Hook 9th Cavalry.
3. From Salar Jung to Major Davidson.
4. From Salar Jung to Capt. Thornhill.
5. Translation of placards.
6. Depositions of the Minister's Treasury and Munshee.
7. Letter from Capt. Hook to Brigadier Coffin.
8. Letter from Brigadier Coffin to Resident.

3. The latter's decision and vigour have called forth my utmost admiration. No statement however startling seems to shake him and his arrangements are always made with the promptness and the decision of a man who is prepared for any contingency.

4. I felt it necessary as I knew it would soon be known to him to communicate the occurrence of the Mutiny of the 1st Hyderabad Cavalry at Aurangabad. He merely said it is unfortunate as I have not as many troops there as I should wish. I will, however, have them reinforced by as many Arabs as I can collect around.

5. For *esprit de corps* I have the highest respect, but European officers of the Native Army must not let their judgement be warped and allowed to close their eyes to the

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events everywhere passing around and say all is well when such is not the case. No one in India has greater affection for the Native Army than I have but I do not hesitate to say that any reliance that I lately had in the fidelity and loyalty of the Native Troops has passed away. The allegations made against the Troopers of the 9th Cavalry of my Escort are most specific and with regret I am now obliged to say they evidently are not the idle malicious tales of designing men.

6. Cavalry and Infantry sepoys from the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force have of late been in the city without their officers' leave and without passports, preaching that this is the time to rise and offering to make common cause against all Europeans. These are not only the assertions of the Native Government but of men who are if anything hostile to it, and whose correct intelligence I have tested for years. I have taken measures, to prevent this sedition for the future, but there is not a doubt, although now checked, it exists in all its nakedness.

7. I have had people lately in Secunderabad who were instructed to converse freely and elicit in whatever way they could the feelings of the Native troops. All that we could depend upon apparently was that in the event of rising they would not march against the city but they would defend their own camp, the meaning of which was that they would fight for their own houses, as each Madras sepoy has his family in his hut and he therefore cannot afford to burn down his lines according to the practice of his Bengal brother. This, in my opinion, with few exceptions, is the sole hold we have upon their fidelity. I acknowledge it is a great one, but we must not be blinded by such expressions as 'the bad feeling only exists among a few bad characters in each corps.' The opportunity and a leader are all that I believe to be wanting to extend the north-west revolt to the Deccan and all southern India. Our sepoys have dared to judge in what cause they will fight and in what not. After that how can they be considered good and trustworthy soldiers.

8. I have still no fear of the result or that there will be any serious outbreaks here. The 7th Madras Cavalry now know that they are watched and I hope I have proved to them they are not feared and can neither except sympathy nor fellow feeling from the people of the city by whom to

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use a vulgar expression they have been regularly sold; and that their only chance now is to pretend fidelity if they do not possess it.

9. Their tour of relief is now near at hand as in the cold weather they will have been nearly three years here and the sooner they are moved from Hyderabad the better. Should the seditious language they used to the crowd in the city when they were on Escort Duty with me on Monday the 18th instant be brought home to them, I should conceive, although the particular Trooper may not be identified, that the Native Officer and the whole Escort should be dismissed. This is however a question that I should be glad if His Lordship in Council took into his own immediate consideration; as such conduct is not only mutinous and seditious but has caused it to appear in the eyes of the Native Government that the Governor-General's representative at the Court of His Highness the Nizam cannot trust his own immediate Escort.

10. The Secunderabad authorities lay much stress in the identification of the men of my Escort who were guilty of treasonable and seditious language at the Minister's and Shamsuloomrah's houses—on my visit to the city. The identification of any particular individual except as securing his punishment appears to me of very little moment. The fact to be dealt with is did the sepoys of the 7th Cavalry on my Escort, make use of seditious and treasonable language to the city people and was this known to the native officers and what steps did they take to prevent it or bring it to notice.

11. It is not probable that any of the Troopers will be personally recognized by those who have given depositions in the city as to what they heard them say especially if mixed up with other men and dressed differently when brought before them, but there are a hundred people and more who can testify that the Madras Cavalry Troopers were the men who used treasonable and seditious language against the British Government, when escorting me to pay friendly visit to Shamsuloomrah and the minister and the name of one of these men is known.

12. I have expressed myself on the efficiency of the whole Secunderabad Brigade in my letter to Brigadier Coffin, No. 1 of the enclosures of this despatch. But I now

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firmly believe that the only Troops that can be thoroughly relied on in the Brigade here are the 3rd Madras European Regiment, the European Batteries of Artillery, the Native Troop of Artillery and in spite of the Mutiny (at Aurangabad) the Ist Cavalry of the Contingent at Bolarum. This corps lately wished me to send its name on to His Lordship in Council as volunteering for service against the Mutineers at Delhi, but I refused to do so as I consider good soldiers need not prove their devotion by volunteering but by marching wherever required.

13. It is after the maturest consideration and after incessant investigation and secret enquiry through agents in whom I can thoroughly rely that I have formed this opinion of the state of feeling of the Madras sepoys. It may be good policy not to scrutinise too narrowly what is going on at the present time and I shall not let it appear that I have withdrawn my confidence from the Native Troops but with the facts that have come to my knowledge I conceive I should be dishonest in the extreme were I to conceal anything from Government merely for the sake of keeping up the appearance of a loyalty which does not exist.

14. I am no alarmist and with the measures I have caused to be adopted in the city by the Minister and those taken by the Military Authorities I feel pretty confident all will still remain quiet at Hyderabad, but I consider it very expedient whenever it is possible to spare them the present force at Secunderabad which should be reinforced by a European Troop of Horse Artillery and another European Regiment. The Arsenal is badly situated at the back of a large Bazar almost indefensible if attacked suddenly and with reference to the altered features a great extent of the Secunderabad Cantonment ought to be removed from its present to a better selected and safer site.

15. I am aware nothing can be done at the present to effect this but I hope in concert with the proper authorities it will meet the attention of Government hereafter.

16. In consultation with Brigadier Coffin I have deemed it advisable to request that he will make Act XIV of 1849 applicable to the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force. It is true that general order appended says ' This order is not intended

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to apply to Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay' but in this instance although the Troops belong to the Madras Presidency they are serving in a foreign state under the orders of the Government of India. Besides I think it is highly desirable at the present time to strengthen as much as possible the power of all Military Authorities.

17. Even now a question of jurisdiction has been stated as to whether the Military Authorities can try the *fakeer,* an inhabitant in camp, who from the Minister's note to Capt. Thornhill (enclosure No. 4) is as will be seen came so well prepared to raise a revolt against the British Government in the city of Hyderabad.

Hyderabad Residency,
18*th June* 1857.

I have etc.
(Sd.) C. DAVIDSON."[1]

(4)

" To

Major C. Davidson,
British Resident,
Hyderabad.

SIR,

I feel in duty bound to offer some remarks on the concluding para of your letter No. 41 of the 26th instant as I could not in justice to the excellent officers who composed the Court of Inquiry, allow any remarks as to the correctness of their Records or Proceedings to be made without having such cleared up.

The most satisfactory way will be to give you the Court's account of what took place.

The Treasurer (when he) entered the court was asked to sit down, (was) spoken to a little to assure him, and then was told what was wanted of him. At the 5th question he was asked to relate all that occurred. (He was) requested to speak slow so as to let Major Pritchard write down as the interpreter translated his reply. He first

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93,

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described the entry of the sepoys for the money and then of his writing the cheque for it. He then stated as follows:—'At this time some of the other attendants present spoke among themselves that a fakeer had been seized and confined and sent in irons to the Resident because he had said that the Hindus and Musalmans of Delhi had risen against the Government saying that the Government were trying to injure their caste. Sayyed Mohadeen on learning this said "The English intend to injure the caste" etc., relating all he heard the sepoy utter.'

He (the Treasurer) was then asked who was present near him, and replied, 'Moonshee Abdul Khader, etc.' He was next asked what people spoke about the fakeer. His reply was, 'I cannot say who they were as I did not notice them. Several spoke in conversation about it and other matters. I have only related the parts of the conversation I remember.'

After five more questions on other subjects and the examination of the men to identify them which he could do, he says Sayyad Mohadeen sat about two yards in front of him, when in the Cutchery. He was asked who began the conversation about the fakeer, the sepoys or others? He replied, 'I cannot say who began it, I heard it amongst the people.'

He was then asked if the fakeer was sent to the Resident before the present was given to the sepoys or after. He replied, 'I cannot say. I have nothing to do with such matters. I merely heard the conversation as I have repeated it.'

The Treasurer spoke of only one *fakeer* throughout. The Court considered it evident who he meant, as but on *fakeer* had been sent to the Resident that they were aware of; and unless some other has been, there can now be no doubt in the matter as to what *fakeer* he alluded.

That portion of the Treasurer's evidence in reply to the 5th question is recored with the greatest correctness,—it was the gist of the matter for which the Court assembled and every care and attention was given to his words.

Major Pritchard who wrote the Court's proceedings is not aware that any portion of them is incorrectly recorded

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or that they do not set forth as clearly and correctly, as such proceedings usually do, whole of any matter of importance brought before it, for, it is unusual to record verbatim what is uttered on unimportant points and that portion whether the Infantry Sepoys seen in the city were from the Escort or from Secunderabad was deemed of little importance. The officers composing the Court however distinctly remember that sepoys of the Escort were mentioned.

That the *fakeer's* case was considered very important by the Court may be seen as well as that the Moonshi Abdul Khader's omission of it in the narrative of occurrences he gave struck the Court as singular, for it drew his attention to the subject and he replied thus 'No, nothing concerning the *fakeer* was talked of then; I knew about the *fakeer* as I heard he had been so sent. I do not recollect any conversation occurring about the *fakeer* in the *Cutchery* that day.'

Even this witness sets it beyond doubt what *fakeer* was meant, namely, the *fakeer* sent to the Residency by the Minister, for, these are the words used in the question to which he replied.

Both these men appear to have confused ideas of all that did occur and the Treasurer says he thought no more of the conversation from the time it was uttered till Capt. Thornhill came and the Minister asked him about it.

The above is the explanation of the case afforded to me by the Court, two officers composing which are on my staff in whom I have the greatest confidence and whom I specially selected for the duty, knowing that they would sift the whole question with the utmost care and patience and which I have considered it my duty to submit to you as your letter under acknowledgement conveys to me the impression that a very serious reflection is cast upon the officers of this Court of Inquiry which I can scarcely suppose it was your intention to convey.

Secunderabad,
29th June, 1857.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) I. C. Coffin Brigr.,
Commanding Hyderabad
Subsidiary force."[1]

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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Newspaper comments on the situation in the Hyderabad State in June 1857 also give glimpses of the state of ferment existing in the population at the time.

"*Englishman,* June 27, 1857.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 14th instant:—

'There are symptoms of disturbances here which though not very alarming are sufficiently so to render precaution necessary. It is said that the Native Regiments of the Subsidiary Force are disaffected, and have made overtures to the people of the city to take part in their insurrection. That the authorities have surmises to the effect that it is so may be gathered from the circumstance of the Nizam's Government having posted Arabs at the gates of the city to prevent the ingress of the sepoys of the Subsidiary Force. That the people of the city, (it would be understood as meaning the rabble principally), have a disposition to rise appears in the circumstance of placards having been put up in conspicuous places calling upon the Mussulmans, by the wrongs their religion had suffered from the hands of the English to raise the standard of faith. And yesterday this disposition was evinced at the principal mosque, where a numerous congregation, mostly of the lower orders, had assembled. The preacher, Moulvie Akbar, was interrupted in his sermon by two men, confidently reported to be of Madras, who said to him, 'Why do you babble like a woman? Why do you not inculcate the raising of the holy standard?' The Kutwal, who was present, had these men seized, but they were rescued immediately by the disciples of a *faqueer* of the higher order, styling himself Khamosh Shah, and so designated generally, from his remarkable habit of never speaking but when it is unavoidable. This person is said by some to have taken personally a prominent part in the rescue. This man has a high character for sanctity amongst a particular set, and has a numerous set of followers. The cry of *Deen, Deen,* was raised in the mosque by the rabble within, but few of the better sort of people, if any, took part in it, and the Kutwal and the preacher were glad to escape from the mosque. Some say the standard of faith was actually raised within the mosque, and that it was pulled down by order of the Minister; others say that it was never put up, and I am disposed to think so, for no mention is made of the party sent to pull it down. Last night there was another movement by a rabble within the mosque, who were

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beaten and dispersed by a party of Arabs employed for that purpose by Salar Jung.

I have given instances above to mark the disposition which prevails amongst the populace, and amongst some, (I hope and believe a very small part) of our sepoys. Last evening we were taken by surprise by seeing three Horse Artillery guns from Secunderabad, and two Foot Artillery guns, and two *Baradirees* of *Sowars* from Bolarum brought in and posted at the Residency, where they still remain. This reinforcement constituted with the Resident's usual guard a force of about 200 horse, two companies of N. I. and five guns. This obviously is but a small force to oppose to such a torrent as the city would have poured out, but it was not injudicious. A larger force would have confirmed the report that the English troops were to be employed against the city. This, however incongruous with their belief that the Native Regiments were disaffected, was believed even by the better sort of people to the exclusion of but a very few persons, and any manifestation that would tend to confirm that belief it was a first object to avoid; the small force assembled at the Residency was sufficient to check the progress of the insurgents till it could receive support from Secunderabad, where some Native Regiments were ordered to remain within their lines, a part equipped for immediate service. It is scarcely worth mentioning, but that it points to the sort of instrument ordinarily employed for factious purposes, that a *faqueer* from the cantonment of Secunderabad preaching sedition in the city was taken up by the Minister and sent to the Resident.

The conduct of the Minister and his arrangements do him great credit for the zeal with which he moves along with us, and for the judicious precautions he has taken to prevent any movement towards an insurrection. Arab guards are posted at all the city gates to prevent the ingress of our sepoys and the egress of suspicious city people. The Arabs sent to drive the insurgents out of the mosque last night were directed to place a guard there to preserve peace and order. Instructions are given to the police and all the station guards, including the newly posted Arabs, to prevent the assemblage of even twenty persons in any one place. If not certain learned Moulvies, one learned Moulvie has been warned to avoid entering into cabals or propagating doctrines to excite insurrection.

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I hear credibly that overtures were made by some sepoys to the Arab chiefs, who rejected their proposals at once, informing them that they had come to India to make money, and not to fight about religion.

P. S.—This letter was drafted yesterday, but was not copied till this morning. I am not sorry for the delay, as it enables me to say that I hear from good authority that although the temper of the factious may not be changed their zeal for raising the holy standard is much subdued. It could not be otherwise when the Arabs, in obedience to their Government fulfilling unmistakingly its part as a faithful ally, are prepared to act against them. I was, subsequently to my first information, informed that the rabble which assembled at night in the mosque had put up a flag which, to mark the degraded and vile position of the rabble, was described as a rag hung to a stick of no great height. Everything remained quiet yesterday, and is so to-day.'"[1]

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1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 213-214.

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Chapter III

OUTBREAK AT AURANGABAD IN JUNE, 1857

While tension was mounting in the city of Hyderabad and attempts were being made to seduce the personnel of the Subsidiary and Contingent forces posted at Secunderabad and Bolarum, the disaffection amongst the troops at Aurangabad took a serious turn in the month of June 1857. In that month the 3rd cavalry, Hyderabad Contingent, was sent to Malegaon under the command of Capt. S. G. G. Orr, at the requisition of the Goverment of Bombay. In its place the first cavalry, Hyderabad Contingent, was moved from Mominabad on 11th June 1857 under the command of Capt. H. D. Abbott. The troops now left at Aurangabad were the 2nd Infantry and the 4th Company of Artillery. While the first cavalry was on its way from Mominabad to Aurangabad, it camped at the village of Chota Pimpalgaon, which is at a distance of 14 miles from Aurangabad. It was at this place that the news of the disasters overtaking the British in Northern India reached the first cavalry. It had a great effect on the soldiers. They had at once a feeling that they would be asked to march to Delhi, a contingency which they did not like. They arrived at Aurangabad on or about the 9th June 1857 and encamped between the Kala Chabutra and the cavalry lines. It was then that the first intimation of disaffection in the cavalry was made known to Capt. Abbott. This was reported by Capt. Abbott in his letter dated 13th June 1857 to the Resident as follows[1]:—

"Sir,——It is with the deepest regret I have to report, that serious disaffection exists in the 1st Cavalry. It first manifested itself yesterday morning, about seven; but no information regarding it reached me until about one o'clock, at which time I was on duty at the mess-house as president of a court of inquiry.

A non-Commissioned officer and his brother (Sikhs) came to me, and reported that the regiment was in a state of mutiny, that the men declared that they had been enlisted for service in the Deccan, and would not march beyond it; that they would not fight against their king: to this they

1. *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent* by R. G. Burton, p. 140.

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added, that many, both Mussulamans and Hindoos, had taken their oaths. They said, that the 3rd cavalry had been entrapped into their service; that reports were circulated and believed, that the 2nd cavalry was to go up to Umballah, the 4th to come here, and that this regiment also would be sent up to join some column which they thought would be composed almost entirely of Europeans. I had intimated to the risaldar, that I should come to the lines in the afternoon, to look at the horses; they fancied that this was preparatory to a march; and they declared (and subsequent inquiries have corroborated this), that they had determined on mine, Lieutenant Dowker's, and the Rissaldar's death, if we went to the lines in the evening. I sent immediately for the rissaldar, and the senior rissaldar, who has been for many years in the regiment (Mahomed Booron). I asked the rissaldar if all was well. He replied, " Yes "; and seemed to be——and I believe was, in a great measure——ignorant of what had really happened, as he had been spending the morning in the house of a relative in the 3rd Cavalry Lines. Mahomed Booron, however, acknowledged that a great disturbance had been going on in all the troops of the regiment during the morning; that it had commenced in the 5th troops, and that meetings had taken place in all the other troops; that a number of men had collected, and come to his tent, and spoken of the flag of their religion having been established, and expressed umbrage at my having spoken to a man on the march who had taken off his regimentals to pray. Though the circumstance itself was one of a most trivial nature, I will relate it circumstantially, that the president may see that no blame can, in justice, be attached to me; but that the men, being disaffected, are ready to seize any pretext for an outbreak. I halted the regiment at a nullah about ten miles from Aurangabad, on the morning we reached this station, to give the men time to rest a little, and water their horses. After half-an-hour had elapsed, I sent the rissaldar to tell the regiments to mount and form up, which they did in an open spot and, as I walked my horse up to the regiment, previously to sounding the march, I observed a man in the nullah, with his regimentals off, washing himself. I turned to my orderly, and asked what the man was doing; and was told he was washing himself previous to saying his prayers; and I replied, that though it was quite right he should say his prayers, this was not the time to do so, and that he should put on his regimentals, and join us as soon as possible. This was all that occurred, ex-

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cept that I mentioned it to the rissaldar when I joined. After consulting both the rissaldar and Rissaldar Mahomed Booran, I directed the rissaldar to go to the camp, and assemble all the troop officers at his tent, and speak to them about what had occurred; that I trusted it would be found that this movement had been commenced, and was supported, by a few bad men; and that they would have sufficient influence to prevent its spreading. I went down to the lines myself, in company with Lieutenant Dowker, about half past five O'clock. The Rissaldar came from his tent to meet us, and said that this had been caused by certain bad men in the regiment, and there was every reason to hope that it would soon subside. The rissaldars were all present with him, and accompanied us as we walked through the lines of each troop and looked at the horses; many men were respectful, and seemed well disposed; others not so, I thought. I then asked the rissaldar and the troop officers to ride with me; and we rode for camp, when I and Lieutenant Dowker entered into conversation with the native officers, and pointed out the folly and disgrace of such conduct. It was ascertained, that the 3rd troop, to a man, both Hindoo and Mussulman, refused to move from this place; that is, if they were ordered to march they declared that they would refuse to do so. The 1st troop rissaldar said, he believed some portion of his men were disaffected, but that the rest of the troop were not, and would obey any orders given to them. I could get no satisfactory accounts of the other troops except that they all acknowledged that a great portion of the men were disaffected; and they all, when I left, promised to do their best to bring them to reason. I, of course, informed them, that I was not aware of there being any probability of their being ordered to move to the north. The report of this morning was very unsatisfactory indeed: one troop only has sent in its report (the 1st troop), in which the rissaldar says, that he had endeavoured, to his utmost, to bring the men to reason; but they had abused him, telling him he was no Mussulman, but a 'Norsare' and they said distinctly, that if ordered to march, they would refuse; and they would not fight against their king ('Assue badshah rieussur rumer naheen bandnigga.'). There was an attempt made in the night, about one O'clock, to saddle the horses; and many loaded their pistols: but it was stopped. The Rissaldar and native officers are at present endeavouring to influence the men for good. I have directed the rissaldar to instruct troop officers to assemble the native officers,

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silladars, and other respectable men in their troops, and point out to them the ruin and disgrace to which such conduct must inevitably lead. As the native officers are so employed at present, and things appear quieter, I am unwilling to interfere in too direct a manner, which I am assured, and I myself believe, would lead to an open rupture. The rissaldar has just sent word to me, that he cannot bring me a satisfactory report of the result of his endeavours before three O'clock this afternon. He was of opinion this morning, that the regiment was in such a state, that it was unadvisable, just at present to take any steps for separating those who might be well-disposed towards the Government, from those who are openly disaffected. He assures me, that it is out of his power to collect around him any number of men over whom his influence would be sufficient to insure their acting as ordered; he ascribes this to his being in the regiment a short time only, and to an ill-feeling existing against him by certain parties, which was manifested on the occasion of the Mohurrum two years ago. The rissaldar's uncle, Hunoor Ally Baig, has remained at Ambah with his troop. This also, is instanced by the mutinous men as a grievance; the rissaldar, they say, has been favoured by his relations being allowed to remain behind, whilst they have been sent up. Strong reports were circulated and credited by the 1st Cavalry, that the 3rd Cavalry would not proceed on the Service on which they had been sent; and it was said, that one of their most influential native officers had returned at four O'clock on Monday afternoon (the 8th). I have just received the visits of the rissaldar and the senior Rissaldar; and I regret to say, that the men are in much the same state as that I have already described. There are some few who say they are ready to obey any orders given to them; but there are a very great portion who speak of the son of the Delhi emperor (whom the mutineers have proclaimed king) as their King, and say they will refuse to march if they are ordered to proceed against him. Acting on the suggestion of the officers here in command of regiments, I have refrained from making any demonstration; but I have warned all to be in readiness.

I have, &c.

H. D. Abbot,

Captain Commanding 1st Cavalry."

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In reply to this letter Major Briggs, the Military Secretary, wrote as follows[1]:—

"The Resident trusts that the excitement that prevails in the regiment will have subsided previous to the arrival of the report of it. He approves of your proceedings, as you are aware that, situated as Aurangabad is now, no immediate assistance can be afforded you. He begs you will assemble the regiment, and assure the men, both in his capacity as British Resident, and as their old friend brother-officer, that he is satisfied that their present conduct arises from the pernicious counsels of bad and designing men; that the governnment have no intention to call for their services to act against the king of Delhi, who is himself a supplicant for the protection of the British Government; but, wherever their services are required, it will be necessary for the regiment to obey.

The Resident trusts that, by the early return of the corps to fidelity, he will be able to induce Government to overlook their present proceeding; but, at the same time, he must point out the ruin and disgrace that a persistence in their present conduct must inevitably lead to. You will mention that the Resident had hoped to be able proudly to point out to government that every corps in the contingent was staunch and loyal. The 3rd cavalry are now in the field against the mutineers; the 2nd are in charge of the Residency; and the whole corps have volunteered to march to suppress the revolt at Delhi. Should your next report on the regiment not prove satisfactory, the Resident will telegraph to the commander-in-chief of the Bombay army, to march the movable column assembling at Malligaum, upon Aurangabad, to coerce the regiment.

I have, &c.

L. C. Briggs."

On the 15th when Captain Abbott felt that conditions were becoming normal, he reported to the Resident as follows[2]:—

"Sir,—I have much pleasure in being able to report that affairs appear to be taking a much more favourable turn, and that one troop of the regiment (the 1st troop),

1. *A History of the Indian Mutiny* by Charles Ball, Vol. I, pp. 427-428.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 428-429.

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as well as all the Hindoos, have separated themselves from the rest of the regiment, and encamped between the regiment and cantonments. The 1st troop have given in a paper to say that they regret what has occurred, and that they are ready to march anywhere they may be ordered. The Hindoos I believe have, for the last two days, been ready to do this, but they were deterred from fear of the rest.

Things looked so serious yesterday, that I wrote to Nuggur and Poonah for assistance, but I have this morning sent off express to say they are not required. After writing to you on Saturday afternoon, things remained quiet until about nine, at which time a Sikh trooper rode down to me, and told me that the regiment was mounting intending to come into cantonments. I had heard during the afternoon, that the men had determined on planting a standard, and that the Mussulmans had tied the *Nara* (pieces of red and yellow thread used at the choborrum) round their arms. I believe myself this was in truth a panic, caused by an infantry picket being placed at the bridge, and a report having been spread by a syce that the infantry and guns were to be taken against them. Jemadar Ameer Khan, supposed at first (though I cannot say whether justly or not) to have been in some measure mixed up with this disaffection, came to me, and I sent him up to assure the regiment that no orders had been previously issued. Although the regiments had turned out on the alarm being given that the cavalry had mounted, I placed a strong picket at the bridge leading to the cavalry, and remained there myself during the night. The rissaldar and the senior rissaldar of the regiment quitted camp that night, as they considered their lives in danger.

The following morning (Sunday) I had an interview with the 3rd troop rissaldar, who is said to be the head of the Shahjehanpore men, a great number of whom are disaffected: he replied, in answer to my inquiries, that he had tried all in his power to bring his men into a proper state, but that the universal feeling in his troop was that they would "Not move" beyond the Nizam's country, and that they would not act against the insurgents in Hindoostan. The exact words were, 'Nizam ke Serhud ke bahirnaheen jangy. Our deen ke upeer kumur naheen bandingy.' I then sent for the troop officers and the Jemadars of each troop, and word was sent back that they would not come, as

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they suspected that they would all be arrested if they came; but if they did come, they would come making their own arrangements; by which they meant, they would bring a large body of these disaffected men with them, which I saw was likely to bring on a rupture at once. At about nine O'clock, all the rissaldars and Jemadars of the regiments, accompanied by a number of troopers, came to the bridge: the men were stopped by the picket, and I went out to converse with them: they were respectful, but excited and loud in their way of talking; and no change whatever seemed to have taken place in the determination they had expressed, to which I have before alluded. Jemadar Chedah Khan seemed to be the principal person, and was spokesman. On their leaving me, I went out with Captain Sinclair and Captain Spied to select a position for the troops, in the event of anything happening: reports circulated that the city men were congregating in large numbers; and it was said that the cavalry had determined to leave this and proceed to Ambah. About two O'clock, Duffadar Husso Khan reported to me that the cavalry would certainly leave, and had made up their minds to march at three; but that there would be considerable bloodshed on the occasion, as they had determined to take by force all the native officers and others who might wish to separate themselves. If bloodshed were commenced, I know it was likely to spread: I therefore turned out the troops at three O'clock, taking up a position with the guns so as to protect the flank of the infantry lines, at the same time to sweep the road leading up from the cavalry lines, as well as the small space towards the parade-ground, if the river was crossed at other points lower down. The infantry took up very strong positions covering the lines, and strong advanced parties at the mess and travellers' bungalow. I caused some trees to be felled and placed across the bridge, as well as the ascents on the side of it; and I sent away the ladies and the families of the non-commissioned officers. The cavalry seem to have changed from this time. At about half-past five, Rissaldar Abdool Rayman Khan came and reported his troop ready to obey any orders; that they regretted what had occurred; and each man put his seal to a written document to that effect: I told him to return and move his troop off from the rest, which he did. This morning, all the Hindoos of the regiment sent word that they wished to join Abdool Ryman Khan's encampment, and have done so. I have had visits from the 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 6th troop officers, all of whom represent their

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men as being sorry for what occurred. They each brought a paper to say, 'that they had always done their duty, and that they were still the servants of Government.' But I have represented to these officers, that what I require is an acknowledgment of their offence, and of their willingness to do and go wherever they were ordered.

I hope now that the regiment as a body will become quiet and orderly; but, at the same time, I cannot help feeling that full reliance cannot be placed on men who were so ready to fall off from allegiance to Government without the slightest pretext or cause of offence or discontent being given to them. I think it right to mention, that Captain Sinclair entertains doubts of the fidelity of one or two of his men. One man is reported to have invited the troopers to send up a troop and take possession of the arsenal, which is on one Flank; and for the protection of which we cannot spare many men. Under the provisions of the order lately published by the Governor-General, I believe I have power to promote a man who shows himself anxious to assist Government; and I have promoted to the next rank of Jemadar, two duffadars who have been very useful and zealous in their endeavours to assist me; and I trust the Resident will confirm the promotions. Throughout the whole of these occurrences, I have had no reason to think otherwise than that Rissaldar Zoolficar Ally Beg was, at heart, most anxious and desirous to do anything in his power to assist us; but I am fully impressed with a conviction that he is a man entirely unfitted for his position; the men look upon him with the greatest contempt. Had there been a man of a different stamp as rissaldar——a man of high spirit and courage, who could have rallied round him some twenty or thirty Bailcunds——he could have suppressed this feeling, I think, in its outset. The infantry regiment has hitherto behaved in the most exemplary manner.

I have, &c.

H. D. Abbot,

Captain, Commanding 1st Cavalry."

In reply to this report of the 15th which was acknowledged by the Resident on the 19th, the latter informed Captain Abbott that there should not be any compromise with the ring-leaders and that since European troops had arrived in Aurangabad he was to select men responsible for

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the disaffection, try them by court-martial, and see the sentence carried into execution.

Soon disaffection became apparent also in the 2nd Infantry. There were about 200 soldiers in the 2nd Infantry who belonged to Oudh and whose attitude caused great anxieties to the European officers. Although anxious for their safety and that of their families, these European officers kept up an outward calm and attended as usual to their duties in their respective regiments. The incident that followed is described below[1]:—

"But it was not the Cavalry alone which afforded grave cause for fears. The distant country of Oudh had contributed 250 men to the ranks of the 2nd Infantry, and these caused much anxiety to the European Officers, who, including two or three sergeants, hardly numbered a dozen. Rumours, exaggerated by fears and suspicions, began to reach the ears of the officers. A conspiracy to massacre them all ——a plot to burn their houses over their heads, with the ladies and children in them——an open attack on the cantonment followed by general pillage—and a hundred other rumours like these were rife in the air. But whatever fears the officers may have entertained of their own safety—— whatever may have been their anxieties with respect to the fate of their helpless wives and innocent children——they kept up an outward appearance of confidence in the troops, and, not to awaken any suspicions, they attended, as usual, at the lines of their respective regiments. One evening they learned that the Infantry lines had sinister visitors in the persons of some troopers from the Cavalry, who, being strangers to the place, were inquiring as to which of the houses in the Cantonment were occupied by the English Officers. At midnight Captain Spied, commanding the Infantry, had a secret visitor in the person of trooper Burhan Bux, of the 3rd Cavalry, who chanced to be then at the station, and who was much attached to the Captain and his wife. Burhan Bux informed the Captain that the Cavalry were arming, and would in all probability attack the cantonment at day break. On this Mrs. Spied and the children, with one or two other ladies, were put in a bullock cart, which was covered all over with white sheets, to impart to it the appearance of a Mahmedan Zennana cart, and, escorted by the staunch and faithful Burhan Bux, they proceeded

1. *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of H.H. the Nizam's Dominions* by Syed Hossain Bilgrami and C. Willmott, Vol. II, pp. 335-338.

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to Ahmednagar, which they eventually reached in safety. Meanwhile the skies became tempestuous, and amid the deep groaning of the thunder, and the vivid flashes of the lightning, the rain came down in perfect torrents. The wind rose into a gale, whistling through the tree-tops and howling about the houses. A furious wind blew down the huge green flag hoisted by the men of the cavalry at their bazar. The raging of the storm and the blowing down of the flag were taken as signs of the divine displeasure against them, and a chill feeling of superstitious dread crept over the Cavalry people. It is generally believed that it was this war of the elements that prevented the expected rising of the cavalry. I am not in a position to state whether there exists any foundation for this belief. But the culminating point of the crisis was soon reached. The day after the storm the officers received information (which turned out incorrect, as the sequence will show) that a number of bad characters from the city, taking advantage of the ill-feeling among the troops, intended attacking the cantonment with a view to plunder. Precautionary measures were at once adopted, and two companies of the Infantry having been hastily assembled, were ordered to hold the bridge which spans the river Kaum, and separates the cantonment from the spot where the cavalry were then encamped. And here I must explain that the European officers of the cavalry lived not in their lines, but occupied bungalows in the cantonment. Haunted as they were by suspicions and fears, and knowing that they were mistrusted by their own officers the men of the Cavalry became at once impressed with the idea that the Infantry was about to attack them. In the Cavalry lines bustle and confusion reigned supreme. The shrill clarion blast of the trumpet wafted its notes of alarm in the still night air, startling from the slumber into which he had just fallen the terrified trooper, who, springing out of his bed in a half-drowsy state, and believing that the lines would be immediately attacked, hastily prepared for action. Horses were forthwith saddled, and mounting in hot haste, the Cavalry turned out, without order of any kind, throwing out pickets in the direction of the Cantonment. And although there were extenuating circumstances for the hasty action taken by the Cavalry, which when explained, would go a great way in mitigation of their offence, yet to all appearances and purposes, there they stood in open arms against their Government mutineers.

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Since the appearance of the very first symptoms of disaffection in the cantonment, the services of the 'express' had been repeatedly brought into requisition, and the authorities at Haidarabad had been apprised of the course of events. Thereupon orders were at once issued for a column of troops to move from Poona to Aurangabad.

But while these forces were on their way affairs at Aurangabad were wearing a serious aspect. The Artillery was suspected. No reliance could be placed on the Infantry. The Cavalry looked as if they were threatening an attack. A mutiny was imminent, when rumours of the approaching Bombay troops reached the Cavalry."

Captain Abbott had already made a request for assistance from Ahmednagar and Poona on the 14th June 1857, but on seeing the situation taking a turn for the better he had countermanded the request the next morning. But the Resident had already informed the British Government by telegram to march the movable column on Aurangabad to suppress the mutiny. On the 17th June 1857 disaffection in the infantry had also become apparent. An infantry sentry had told the cavalry trooper that 'a portion of the Regiment were with them, and how was it they had done nothing.' Captain Sinclair had also learnt that there were disaffected elements in his company of Artillery. He had come to know that the leaders had determined not to load their guns if they were required to act against the cavalry.

Captain Abbott visited the corps on the 17th and informed them that General Woodburn's force was expected and asked them to remain quiet. On the 18th on receipt of a despatch from Brigadier Hill, Commanding the Hyderabad Contingent, directing him to relieve the Troop of the 3rd Cavalry on duty with the Assistant Commissioner at Buldhana, Captain Abbott ordered the 3rd Troop to proceed to Buldhana which it did on the morning of the 19th.

Meanwhile the troops from Ahmednagar were marching to Aurangabad, under Major General Woodburn. They consisted of three troops, 14th Light Dragoons under Captain Gall, one Battery, European Artillery, under Captain Woolcombe and the 25th Bombay Native Infantry under Colonel Follett. These forces arrived at Aurangabad on the morning of 23rd June 1857, and after arrangements

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having been made for the protection of the Cantonment, proceeded to the 1st Cavalry camp. Captain Abbott reported at the time as follows[1]:—

"I preceded the general to the camp, and ordered the men to fall in at foot-parade; they did so: and I first called on the 1st troop rissaldars to read out the names of the men who were most to blame, and most implicated in this mutiny. Jemadar Abdul Bazan Khan began to read out the names, and he commenced with that of Jemadar Ameer-Khan. While reading out the names, Ameer Khan became very violent, and said this was very improper, that it was all false and untrue, and called on the men to prime and load. While doing so, a number of the men ran off the parade, and proceeded to saddle their horses. Every endeavour was made to stop the men, and induce them to remain and hear what was to be said to them. With great difficulty, a large portion of the men were separated and ordered to fall back in rear of the force. The rest dispersed among the lines, refusing to return, though frequently called upon to do so. They mounted their horses; upon which General Woodburn ordered the guns to open upon them. They all then immediately fled, and were pursued by the dragoons, but I am afraid with scarcely any effect. The whole of the bad men were among them; only five men of the 2nd troop had remained. Ameer Khan has sought refuge in the city, but the Soobah refuses to allow our men to enter."

Further details may be gleaned from the following[2]:—

"A letter from Aurangabad of the 23rd of June, gives the following account of the affair described by Captain Abbott:—

'This morning, at ten o'clock, General Woodburn's brigade came in, and having marched direct to the ground occupied by the mutinous cavalry, the latter were ordered to give up their arms. All, save one troop, gave up. To this troop the general allowed six minutes' time to consider; after which, seeing no inclination on their part to obey, the artillery opened on them with canister, by which a few were killed, and about a dozen or so more were cut down by the dragoons, whose horses being tired could not keep up with the runaways; the remainder made their escape into the city

1. *A History of the Indian Mutiny* by Charles Ball, Vol. I, pp. 429-430.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 430.

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close by. Captain Mayne, with a troop, or portion of one, of the 3rd cavalry, has just galloped into the city, and, if resistance is offered, will cut up the rebels. The men of the 1st cavalry who were on guard have since been disarmed, and their places taken by the men of the 3rd. Tomorrow we expect to have a number of these wretches either hung or blown from the guns.' "

The incident is described by Major Burton as follows[1]:—

" Captain Abbott preceded General Woodburn and ordered the men to fall in at foot parade; they did so, and the Ressaidar of the 1st Troop was called on to read out the names of the men who were most to blame, and most implicated in the mutiny. The first name read out was that of Jemadar Amir Khan, who became very violent and exclaimed 'this is very improper, and it is all false,' calling on his men to prime and load. A number of men then ran off the parade and proceeded to saddle their horses. Every endeavour was made to induce them to remain and hear what was to be said to them, and with great difficulty a large portion of the men were separated and ordered to fall back in rear of the Force. The rest dispersed among the lines, refusing to return although called upon repeatedly to do so. They mounted their horses and fled, whereupon General Woodburn ordered the guns to open on them; they were pursued by the Dragoons, but only one man was killed. On the return of Captain Abbott, who had joined in the pursuit, the Ressaidar of the 1st Troop was again directed to read out the names of the remaining mutineers in his troop. These laid down their arms when ordered, and were placed under a guard.

A Duffadar, Mir Fida Ali, fired a pistol at Captain Abbott, but missed him. The remaining Troops were dealt with in the same manner. Of the 2nd Troop, Ressaidar Muhammad Hashim, Jemadar Najib Khan and five men alone remained. The Ressaidar was reported to have connived at the mutinous meetings of his Troop, and it was said that Jemadar Chhedi Khan of the 3rd Troop had asked him to sanction his taking a few picked men and attempting the lives of Captain Abbott and the other officers in Cantonment.

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1. *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent* by Major R. G. Burton, pp. 172-173.

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The Ressildar and Jemadar and the few remaining men of the troop were disarmed and confined. The 5th Troop was also greatly disaffected, and a Jemadar and some of the men were arrested and confined.

The number of men disarmed and placed in confinement on the morning of the 23rd was:—

1 Ressaidar.

3 Jamadars.

9 Duffadars.

76 Troopers.

4 Trumpeters.

In addition to these a Duffadar and 6 men were arrested at Mominabad by the Troop left there to protect the station under command of Ressaidar Anwar Ali Beg, while 3 troopers were apprehended by the Naib of Bir."

Mir Fida Ali, the Daffedar, who had fired a pistol at Captain Abbott was secured and hanged and a number of persons were placed on trial. This is described in the following letter[1]:—

" When Captain Abbott directed the men of the cavalry to lay down their arms, a trooper stepped forward and snapped his pistol at the officer, but it fortunately missed fire. The fellow was secured, and during the night a gallow was erected in front of the lines. On the following morning, General Woodburn's force was paraded, and the prisoner was brought out, tried by drum-head court-martial, placed on a gun-carriage the rope adjusted, and the limber moved away: in a few minutes from the first appearance of the prisoner, all was over: Such of the cavalry as remained staunch were then posted, while the native infantry and artillery marched past the gallows:—The execution was witnessed by a great number of people from the city and adjacent villages. From thirty to forty of the cavalry mutineers, a subahdar of the 2nd infantry Hyderabad contingent, and some golundauzes, are now upon their trial, and the alacrity of General Woodburn's movements has thrown the native inhabitants into a panic. They look particularly crestfallen and disappointed."

1. *A History of the Indian Mutiny* by Charles Ball, Vol. I, p. 430.

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The attack on the mutineers is described in another letter as follows[1]:—

"Another officer, describing the affair, says——— 'The general could not order the guns to fire, as he feared to knock over the good men with the bad; but they did not get clear off after all, though much less execution was done in consequence of the delay, than might otherwise have been the case. Two of our companies afterwards went all through the lines, and we fully expected a slight struggle there; but they were not game; and such as did not run away gave themselves up quickly. We took their standards. These mutineers are, without exception, the finest body of men I have seen in India—immense fellows, of sixteen or seventeen stone each, and scarcely one of them under five feet ten inches.'"

The trials of the persons continued for a few days as a result of which 21 persons were shot to death, and 3 were blown away from guns. This is described in the following[2]:—

"We have already disposed of a goodly number of the ninety-four prisoners we took in the first haul of the net. One has been hung, four shot, one blown from a gun a frightful sight indeed! his head ascended about twenty yards into the air, and his arms were thrown about eight yards in either direction. I was astonished to see how coolly they received intelligence that they were to suffer death. The man who was blown away only said, that witnesses against him would have to answer for this in the next world and begged of them not to tie him to the guns, as he would not flinch at all. The fellow who was hung said, that having washed his hands of life he had washed away all his sins, and the sooner he went to paradise the better. 'We have yet plenty of this work before us' (he added).

Of the prisoners taken in this affair, two were blown from guns; seven shot by the dragoons; four cut down in the charge; several hung; between thirty and forty transported; one hundred disbanded and turned out of the station; and some fifty or sixty others flogged and otherwise punished."

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1. *A History of the Indian Mutiny* by Charles Ball, Vol. I, pp. 430-432.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 430-431.

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Attached to General Woodburn was a civilian officer who reported the whole affair on 28th June from his camp at Ahmednagar[1]:—

" On the morning of Thursday week (*i.e.,* June 18th) the general sent for me, and said that the troops were to march towards Aurangabad the next morning, in consequence of a most urgent requisition from Captain Abbott; and he begged me to go out with his assistant Quartermaster-General that same evening as far as Emanpore, and choose pitching-ground, and make arrangements for supplies, & c. Well, at 4 p.m. out we went, chose pitching-ground, dug trenches for watering cavalry horses, and sent for all the supplies available. The general had told us that he should march next morning at 3 a.m. and at half-past six we began to look out for the ' army '. At about ten, up came Captain Mayne of the Hyderabad contingent, lately commanding Aurangabad. He had come to escort Mrs. M ..... and other ladies from Aurangabad, where it was no longer safe for them to remain. They went on to Naggur, and we got an express from the general, saying that fresh orders had arrived and that the force was to march in the old direction to Malegaon. So we went in sharp, and Mayne rode with us. We went at once to the general, and represented very strongly to him that, as he (Mayne) had been connected with the contingent for fourteen years, and had been for six years commanding the very cavalry regiment which had mutined, and again as he had only just left the scene of the row, he felt himself competent to give an opinion on the subject, and most strongly advised that we should march at once on the place, smash the mutineers, and strike a decisive blow. . . .the General sent for orders to headquarters, which arrived in two days, to the effect that he was to march *instanter* on Aurangabad. I went on to Emanpore, in my district, and managed to get supplies, and the force came on in the morning about seven. A fine sight—14th dragoons first, then the general and his staff, then 28th native infantry, and Captain Woolcombe's battery last; the rear brought up by a pontoon train, some twenty elephants, and the baggage—extending some two miles in length. We came on to Jobra, and here my mission ended, as the troops were now out of my district, and indeed, out of the company's territories altogether, so I went to the general for orders. Mayne had not arrived; and as no one present knew the

1. *A History of the Indian Mutiny* by Charles Ball, Vol. I, pp. 431-432.

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road to Aurangabad except myself, the general asked me to go on with them, which I was glad to do, as there were worst accounts from Captain Abbott. During the day the general received another express from Abbott, which made him determine to get on at once by forced marches. We got into Aurangabad at 10 a.m., and Abbott and his officers came out to meet us. Mayne had joined us just before. It was fortunately a cool morning, or man and horse would never have got through the work cut out for them. Well, Abbott told us that things were in a most unsatisfactory and critical state; that since the ladies had left, the officers had lived barricaded in the mess-room, and that there was reason to fear not only the staunchness of the cavalry, but of the infantry and artillery also. He said that we were quite unexpected, and that the best thing would be to march up to the cavalry intrenchments at once and surprise them. The general consented to do so at last. We found some good camping-ground for the force on the Nuggur side of the cantonments, and we marched on towards the mutineers' lines (1st cavalry pickets.)

Two guns and a squadron of the dragoons were left to guard the bridge, in case of a rising of the Nizam's artillery or infantry; and we went on up to the cavalry lines, which we reached at twelve. A long line of white tents, with horses picketed in front, showed us where they were; and the general galloped over the ground to select a good position. All the officers were, of course, with their regiments; so that in the general's staff were only his aide-de-camp (Macdonald), Deputy Adjutant-general Coley, Mayne, Abbott, and myself. The cavalry bugles were sounded, and men ordered to fall-in-on foot, except their mounted (native) officers. Abbott then rode past them, and ordered the few men who had remained faithful to fall out of the ranks, leaving the mutineers in a body in front of their lines. The guns of Woolcombe's battery were then ordered to be loaded with canister, and drawn up within thirty yards; and the general, with Abbott and the other four of us, rode up to the ranks. Abbott was then ordered to speak to the men, and he did so, asking them the reason for disobeying orders and for mutinying; reminding them that government never dreamt of attempting to make them change their religion, and of the punishment which awaited them. The mounted officer (a Jemadar) who commanded this troop and who was one of the principal instigators of the affair, here broke out,

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'It is not good; it is all false!' Abbott drew his pistol, and would have shot him as he stood (for speaking in rank is equivalent to open mutiny); but the general turned to him and said, 'Captain Abbott, I desire that you will not fire on your own men. So Abbott put up his pistol, and went on with his harangue. After another minute the jemadar broke out again. 'It is not true; it is all false. Brothers all, prime and fire!' Upon this, with a clash, out came all their pistols; and, had they fired, we six must have fallen, as we were not five yards from them. My pistol, a revolver, was in my hand in a moment; and as I was next to the jemadar, I feel confident I could have shot him before he had time to raise his. But a panic seized them; and they bolted towards their lines, and we rode back behind the guns. Woolcombe had dismounted, and was pointing a gun at them himself; the portfire was lighted, and one word only was wanted to blow every soul of them to the four winds, and thus strike a decisive and terrible blow, which would never have been forgotten; but the word was not given. The general allowed them to get to their brose; and then, as they stood in a group mounting, some 260 yards off, Woolcombe ran to another gun, armed and pointed it, and, losing his patience at not being ordered to fire, sung out, 'May I fire, Sir?' If any answer was returned, certainly no order was given; and the rascals got to their horses, and were up and on them, and away in a moment. Then came the order to fire. Just as they were getting under cover of some buildings some tewenty-nine shots were fired at them, but without effect, only killing some few horses and a poor Ghorwalla. The dragoons were then ordered to charge on the mutineers, who had by this time cleared their lines, and were drawn up in a line on a plain to our right, out of shot of the guns. Forward went the 14th at a gallop; and the men of the 1st waited in line till the 14th were tolerably near them, and then broke up, and each man turned his horse's head and dispersed in every possible different direction. The dragoons caught and cut down some half-dozen, and the rest got away. Abbott joined the charge; and, his horse being fresh, he managed to get up with one of the mutinous officers, who, seeing no chance of escape, put his sword between his teeth, dropped his reins, and held up his hands in token of submission, and as a sign for quarter. Abbott lowered his sword, and the brute, as he passed him, drew his pistol, and fired straight at his face. A motion of the horse saved him; and he drew his pistol and fired two shots at the ruffian, but missed him.

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He was caught later in the day, and hung next morning before all the troops. After the charge, the rest of the native cavalry were brought out, and those suspected were disarmed and placed in confinement, to await their trial by drumhead court-martial. Towards the evening, nearly seventy of those who had escaped were taken or given up; and this reduced the number of those who had actually got away to about fifty-five. The Jemadar who had first drawn his pistol was missing altogether, and no tidings could be got of him, though the general was most anxious to secure him. Had the guns opened upon the rascals directly they drew their fire-arms, not one could have escaped; and a blow direct and decisive would have been struck, and the mutiny in all probability quelled in these parts, at all events. All were disappointed at the result, and particularly as the general had them so entirely at his mercy."

A similar incident which occurred in Aurangabad is given below:—

When men from the cavalry were disbanded under the check of General Woodburn's forces, a number of them were taken prisoners from their houses in Aurangabad. Their leader Amir Khan went into hiding. A reward of Rs. 2,000 was declared for his arrest and similarly a reward of Rs. 500 was announced for the arrest of Wahid Khan. The names of some of the arrested soldiers of the cavalry are as follows:—

"1. Modi Khan.
2. Jan Baz Khan.
3. Shaik Rahim.
4. Mohamed Mir Khan No. I.
5. Mohamed Mir Khan No. II.
6. Shaik Fateh Mohamed.
7. Mohamed Raza.
8. Dilawar Khan.
9. Shaik Hussain.
10. Mirza Azeem Beg.
11. Hussain Khan.
12. Shaik Malik.
13. Ahmed Khan.
14. Mir Mazar Ali.
15. Noor Khan.
16. Mir Imam Ali.
17. Mir Badar Ali.
18. Kasim Ali Khan.
19. Faiz Mohamed Khan.
20. Abdulla Khan."[1]

Thus ended the outbreak at Aurangabad. It will be observed that besides those who died in the actual disturbance, a number of persons were tried and sentenced to death.

1. From file No. 32 of July 1857 preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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From records it is apparent that at least one person namely Meer Fida Ali was hanged, 21 shot dead and 3 were blown from cannons. A number of people were also flogged and turned out of the army. The outbreak at Aurangabad is thus the first serious incident which occurred in the State of Hyderabad in 1857 within a few weeks of the outbreak at Meerut in Northern India.

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Chapter IV

THE ATTACK ON THE RESIDENCY

While General Woodburn's forces arrived in Aurangabad on the 23rd of June 1857 the detachment commanded by Capt. Gall marched to Buldhana the next evening. It was composed of "one squadron, 14th Light Dragoons, two guns, of the 4th Light Field Battery, the Bombay Artillery, two flank companies of the 25th Bombay Native Infantry, two guns of the 4th Company Artillery of the Hyderabad Contingent under Lieutenant Sinclair and one Company 2nd Infantry of the Hyderabad Contingent under Lieutenant Lennox." The Third troop, which was disaffected, had already been sent to Buldhana to relieve the troops of the cavalry which was on duty with the Assistant Commandant there. The disaffection in the Third troop persisted at Buldhana and it was to coerce it that the detachment under Major Gall was sent to that place. On hearing of the approach of this detachment, the *Risaldar,* 2 *Jemadars,* 3 *Dafedars,* 7 troopers and 2 trumpeters deserted the camp at Buldhana and moved towards Hyderabad. Of the remaining 1 *Dafedar* and 10 troopers were arrested and brought to Aurangabad.

The following correspondence gives an account of the disaffection and the subsequent desertion of the camp at Buldhana by the troopers[1]:—

(1)

"To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,
Secretary to Government of India,
Foreign Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

With reference to the accompanying copy of a letter (1/189, dated 29th June 1857) and its enclosure from Mr. Bullock, Dy. Commissioner, North Berar, which had

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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been forwarded for my information by the Commissioner, the Assigned Districts, I have considered it advisable to assemble a detachment of the Hyderabad Contingent as detailed in the enclosed copy of a telegraphic message despatched this day to the Bombay Government.

2. I have ordered the detachment to march on Edalabad and take position on the best available ground in that neighbourhood, which is on the frontier of Malwa, but if possible to remain within the boundary of the Assigned Districts.

3. I do not anticipate any disturbance in North Berar, but I consider this precautionary measure desirable, although I have reduced the Troops at the different stations of the Hyderabad Contingent so far as is compatible with the safety of the several Treasuries. Still I have no fear of their being attacked by plunderers from the outside and if uniting were to occur among the Troops themselves we have no greater safety from a large body than a small one.

4. In my opinion it is particularly desirable at the present moment to show to the people of the country that we have Troops available to march against any apprehended disturbers of the peace in the Deccan, and this at some inconvenience has been one inducement for me to assemble the present detachment near Edalabad.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) C. DAVIDSON,
Resident."

Residency,
9th July 1857.

(2)

" From

T. H. Bullock Esqr.,

Dy. Commissioner, North Berar.

To

F. N. Malby Esqr.,
Commissioner, Hyderabad Assd. Teers,
Bolarum.

Dated Booldanah, 29th June 1857.

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SIR,

In continuation of my report No. 188, dated the 27th Instant, I have the honour to inform you that I received information that the Ressaldar and other officers and men of the 3rd Troop of the 1st Regiment of Cavalry, Hyderabad Contingent, proceeded to Khirgamm and crossed the Purnah at the place evidently on the Road to Boorhanpur and Asseergarh and as many of them belong to Mhow I think it probable that they are going in that direction.

2. Yesterday morning at daybreak I sent our Express to the officer commanding at Asseergarh and also the Resident at Indore, requesting them to intercept the party and capture them should they be discovered.

3. A column of His Majesty's and Hon'ble the Company's Troops under the command of Capt. Gall of the 14th Dragoons arrived yesterday at Booldhana and took charge of that portion of the 3rd Troop of the 1st Cavalry which remained at this station. One Duffadar and ten Troopers are in confinement and the remaining two Duffadars and two Troopers have had their arms restored to them. I recalled the Detachment at Adjimatah, consisting of one Duffadar and twelve Troopers but out of this number eight deserted *en route* to this place and the other four have placed themselves under the orders of Capt. Gall.

4. I had sent an orderly with a letter to recall the detachment at Peepulgamm Kalee. The fugitives from this (place) overtook this man and, on pretence that I had sent them to capture some dacoits and (that they) were going in the direction of Peepulgamm Kalee, they got possession of the letter and sent him back. I sent another by Express to avoid detaining Captain Gall but I am afraid it will turn out that most of them will have been seduced from their post and that they will have gone off with Goolam Raoolkhan Russaidon.

5. I have the honour to enclose copy of a letter I have this day addressed to Capt. Gall of the 14th Dragoons Commanding the Troops at this place.

I have etc.,

Booldhana,
29*th June* 1857.

(Sd.) T. H. BULLOCK,
Dy. Commissioner, N. B."

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(3)

" To
Captain Gall,
H. M. 14th Dragoons,
Commandant Light Field Force,
Booldhana.

SIR,

The orderly who was entrusted with a letter to recall the Detachment of the 11th Regiment of Cavalry of the Hyderabad Contingent stationed at Peepulgamm Kalee having been intercepted by the Rassaildar and Troopers who were fugitive from this place on the night of the 26th inst., I am afraid it will be necessary to detain your column here until the result of a second message is known. Although I feel nearly certain that the greater part of that Detachment consisting of a Daffadar and 13 Troopers will join the other deserters and abscond, I sent an Express very early yesterday morning to the Tahsildar of Jalgaon which is the nearest civil Thana to Peepulgamm Kalee to ascertain where the Detachment is and to deliver (to it) an order to return. Should it be at its post, we may expect a reply by this evening or tomorrow morning.

2. Should the fall of Delhi be delayed with reference to the unsettled state of the country and the remote situation of Booldhana and the temptation held out of a large Treasury, I should beg to recommend that all the families of Europeans and Indo-Britains in this Station should be allowed to accompany your column to the nearest place of safety, and I should be obliged to you to let me know whether under present circumstances you think you could give them protection say to Jalna or Aurangabad, provided your services should not be emergently required in any other direction.

3. Although the immediate object of your march to this place had been partly anticipated and partly rendered ineffectual by the flight of mutinuous men of the 3rd Troop of the 1st Cavalry Hyderabad Contingent, yet I am of opinion that the temporary presence of an European force at this place will have had a very useful effect upon the turbulent classes in North Berar as it will show that we are within the reach of Military (aid) and if it should fortunately happen that Major-General Woodburn's force could be

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spared to fix its Headquarters somewhere in the neighbourhood of Aurangabad it would afford protection to a large extent of (the) frontier country, where there is not at present a single European soldier. Jalna as Headquarters would secure Aurangabad, Mominabad, Hingoli, Booldhana and even Elichpur would feel the influence of this force.

4. Therefore at least 20,000 armed men, Mussalmans principally, are ready for any cut-throat service in North Berar and although I do not hear of any overt acts on their part, there are reports that they are secretly preparing their weapons and watching for adverse news and therefore what is safe and quiet today may be a moving mass of insurrection tomorrow.

5. With all this I am aware that the services of H.M.'s Troops may be much more urgently required elsewhere and in alluding therefore to the state of this country, I only do so as a question of secondary consideration, if troops should be properly spared from more emergent duties elsewhere.

6. I am desirous of sending a lac of rupees to Elichpur and it will be necessary to send a guard of regular sepoys. I do not know whether you could spare me a portion of this 2nd Regiment Infantry H.S. I wrote to Capt. Abbott to let me have an additional party from that Regiment to be stationary but I think he has overlooked that circumstance or perhaps he means to send a separate party; I have asked for a Native officer and 24 Bayonets.

I have etc.,

Booldhana,
29th June.

(Sd.) T. H. Bullock,
Dy. Commr. North Berar.

P.S.

I have this moment received a Poona Extra giving information that the Official Account of the fall of Delhi had been received at Poona and I hope this will have a very good effect on the country and prevent a chance of any disturbance, should it prove to be authentic.

(Sd.) T. H. Bullock."

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On the 12th June 1857 the Resident wrote as follows to the Foreign Department of the Government of India[1]:—

" To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,
Secretary to Government of India,
Foreign Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honour to annex copy of a Telegraphic message which was despatched to you this day.

' As for several days past more than usual excitement has taken place in the city of Hyderabad occasioned by authentic accounts detailing the causes of the revolt in the North-West having reached the principal Sowcars and other persons in the city and as several people are alleged to be preaching sedition and a rising against the British Government, one of whom was apprehended in the very act last night, I have considered to reinforce the Residency Escort by six guns and a squadron of cavalry. I still do not apprehend that any acts personally hostile to Europeans will take place nor any disturbance beyond perhaps a common street row will occur and I hope that when the mob find that we are prepared they will remain quiet. The nobles and the influential classes at Hyderabad still continue staunch and faithful. It is only from among the lowest of the populace that any tumult is to be dreaded.'

Hyderabad Residency.
12*th June* 1857.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) C. DAVIDSON,
Resident."

That disaffection was rampant in the troops at Secunderabad is apparent from letters discovered in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad. Through letter No. 720, dated July 2, 1857, the Resident wrote to the Minister that eleven persons had been arrested from the Secunderabad Cantonment and that they were being sent to the Minister for the

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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purpose of investigation. Their statements have also been traced. The following names figure in the documents:—

(1) Shivcharan, (2) Madhav Dass, (3) Anoop Singh, (4) Kishandas, (5) Lal Khan and (6) Khader Khan. The Minister replied that they were being handed over to the Criminal Court for investigation. It was discovered that they were discharged soldiers from the army.

The disturbed state of the country is apparent from the following letter of 26th June 1857. The Resident informed through letter No. 656 that information had been received by him of a gathering of Rohillas and Arabs at Jatprole (Mahboobnagar district), who were moving towards the river Krishna. The whole of the Deccan was thus in a state of ferment during the months of May and June.

The troops who deserted arrived under *jamedar* Cheeda Khan to Hyderabad. Their number was thirteen. A reward of Rs. 3,000 had been offered for the arrest of Cheeda Khan for having taken a leading part in the disaffection in Aurangabad. As soon as they arrived in Hyderabad they were arrested by the Minister Salar Jung and sent to the Resident. This created a wide commotion in the city. On the 17th of July 1857 a very big congregation gathered at the Mecca Mosque and outside, and decided after inflammatory speeches to send four Moulavis to the Nizam to secure the release of these persons from the Residency. In the alternative they decided to attack the Residency. So great was the commotion and so imminent seemed the attack that all preparations were made at the Residency to meet the danger. The troops of the Residency had already been reinforced and consisted on the 16th of July 1857 of :—

Three guns and two mortars, with detail of artillery of the Hyderabad Contingent.

One troop Hyderabad Contingent Cavalry.

Twenty-five troopers, Madras Light Cavalry.

Two hundred Madras Native Infantry.

Hearing of this congregation in Mecca Masjid, Salar Jung sent Arab guards to disperse them and informed the Resident that the congregation had been dispersed without any commotion. In the evening, however, a hurried communication from Salar Jung was received to the effect that

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about 500 Rohillas had broken loose from the City and led by Maulvi Alauddin and the Rohilla leader Turabaz Khan were heading towards the Residency. On receipt of the news disposal of the troops was quickly made and all arrangements were perfected to repel the attack. The lay-out of the Residency gates as it was in 1857 is described below[1]:—

" There is no opening or gateway for a good part of the southern or city side of the Residency grounds, as it overhangs the bed of the Moosee, and that chiefly towards the end close to Oliphant's bridge; but at the end near the bazzar now being built on the way to the new bridge, there is a sort of lane between the Residency wall and the wall of the garden of Dilsook,—at this end there is a gateway with a native guard. Then along the Western wall there was a gate where a Martello tower has been erected within the last three years; another gate a little higher up leading into the Pootlee Bowree—a tank frequented for water by people in the vicinage during the hot months—and a third gate which looks down the road to Secunderabad; but all these gates run along the thoroughfare used by the people from the city."

The attack was repelled within a short time as detailed below[2]:—

" At a quarter to six in the evening a messenger was hurriedly despatched by Salar Jung to Colonel Davidson, with a verbal communication that five hundred Rohillas had broke loose from the city, headed by Moolvee Alla-ood-Deen and the notorious Rohilla leader, Torabass Khan, followed by an immense mob of insurgents, with a request that the Resident would defend himself till the Minister had assembled the Nizam's troops. The insurgents soon waved to and fro; the Western thoroughfare and the road leading towards Secunderabad seemed an ocean of human faces, exhibiting ferocity in its worst forms. Every gate of the Residency grounds had been closed, and every means of access bristled with bayonets. The Resident at once took the attitude of defiance—he scorned that of mere defence—with men whom he never trusted and he did not now fear to meet. The Rohillas proceeded to occupy the two large upper-storied houses with terraced roofs, belonging to two Soucars by name Ubbu Saheeb and Jey Gopall Dass, facing the western wall of

1. *The Nizam* by H. G. Briggs, Vol. II, p. 75.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

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the Residency, and just across the thoroughfare of which mention has been made, thinking by this means to command entrance into the grounds: the garden of Dilsook was also occupied in force by the insurgents. They made the gateway opening upon the Pootlee Bowree one of the points of attack, and almost tore off its hinges the gateway a little below; but their great card apparently was to be played from the soucars' houses. The firing directed from those houses immediately they were entered was very heavy for about twenty minutes, till it became dust. Captain Holmes's guns then commenced playing, and the European officers were fully alive to check any attempt of treachery on the part of their own people. Dropping-shots were now continued by the insurgents throughout the night, until four O'clock in the morning, when a volley was fired, it is supposed, while the insurgents were evacuating the houses with the connivance of the Arabs sent by the Minister to prevent their escape into the city; for they dug a hole in that direction, and there is little doubt that before daybreak they were safely lodged in their hiding places in that very city. Thirty-two men were killed and wounded by the fire of the Madras Horse Artillery guns. The rabble continued hovering about the Residency all the night long; they had been completely dispersed by daylight on the 18th July."

The following series of telegraphic and express dispatches from the Resident to the Supreme Government gives important facts about this attack on the Residency:—

(1)

"To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,
Secretary to Government of India,
Foreign Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honour to forward by Express a Telegraphic message which has just reached me from Bombay.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) F. DAVIDSON,
Resident.

P. S. The Residency was attacked this afternoon. The attack repelled by the troops of Escort under the command

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of Major Briggs, my Military Secretary. We have since been reinforced by a ½ Troop of Artillery, a squadron of cavalry and 100 Europeans. All is safe for the night.

I will report full by Express tomorrow.

Hyderabad Residency.
17*th July* 1857.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) C. DAVIDSON,
Resident."[1]

(2)

"*By Express*

To

G. F. Edmonstone, Esqr.,
Secretary to Government of India,
Foreign Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council that the Hyderabad Residency was attacked by a band of Rohillas and Arabs under Jamadar Toora Baz Khan at 4 o'clock yesterday evening.

2. I shall hereafter fully report on the subject. In the meantime and without any delay I beg you will make known to His Lordship in Council that the insurgents were dispersed on the Madras Horse Artillery guns opening on them while breaking down one of the Residency Garden gates.

3. The Minister only gave me intelligence a quarter of an hour previous to the attack, although I had in the morning communicated to him that some serious outbreak was preparing which he refused credence to and indeed I had the force under arms for a couple of hours in the middle of the day in order to meet anything of the kind.

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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4. The troops as per margin were just seven minutes in turning out ready for action. I had on reinforcing my Escort as reported in my dispatch of 13th June, No. 35 placed the defence of the Residency under the charge of Major Briggs, my Military Secretary, and well indeed has he performed his part. By personal inspection and inquiry I ascertained that every precautionary measure that military skill and forethought could dictate was pre-arranged from the above date and the insurgents found as if by magic that all the modes of ingress to the Residency were bristling with common and armed men.

½ F Troop Horse Artillery under Brevet Capt. Holmes. Two guns of the Hyderabad Contingent under Capt. Scott.
1 Troop of 2nd Regiment Irregular Cavalry.
My usual Cavalry and Infantry Escort, consisting of 1 Jamadar, 1 Havaldar and 25 Rank and File. 7 Madras Cavalry and 200 Infantry, 24th M N I under Capt. Bradley.

5. The Police arrangements of the large Residency Bazar were under (perfect) control when I state that not one case of outrage or atrocity was committed in a bazar numbering 20,000 inhabitants during the whole outbreak. Government, I think, will allow that the Police deserve the highest praise. To Capt. Thornhill I am also indebted for the early intelligence in the morning which enabled me to communicate with the minister. I should be doing these two officers a great injustice did I not bring their merits on this occasion to the notice of the Governor-General as having deserved well of the Government.

6. To Brevet Captain Holmes Commanding three guns of Madras Horse Artillery and Capt. Bradley Commanding Infantry and part of my escort I feel highly indebted. The former opened fire with his guns at a most critical period and preserved the Residency House itself from being attacked. When an opportunity offers of advancing the interests of these two able officers I shall take the liberty of bringing their claims to the notice of His Lordship in Council.

7. Nothing could have been calmer and more determined than the bearing and manner of the whole of the troops occupying the Residency defence. I visited their posts frequently myself. They certainly were too few in numbers for a prolonged defence of so large a place but it was evident their courage never failed them although the rumours were that the whole armed populace of Hyderabad

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had risen to attack them. Capt. Scott of the Madras Artillery who was on a visit at the Residency volunteered his services and I was only too glad to place the two Artillery guns of the Hyderabad Contingent under his command during this period of imminent peril.

8. About 8 O'clock the remaining guns of the F. Troops Madras Horse Artillery, a couple squadrons of the 7th Madras Cavalry and 100 Europeans were sent under command of Maj. Brice of the Madras Horse Artillery to my assistance by Brigadier Coffin commanding the Hyderabad Subsidiary force and with this reinforcement I felt we could hold our own against all comers till morning. I had telegraphed to Brigadier Coffin for a similar force previous to their arrival but as there was so little difference between my requirement and what he sent I permitted his arrangements to hold good.

9. Majors Briggs and Brice throughout the night were on the alert and the latter showed as he always does how zealous an officer he is.

10. Everything now is again quiet. My daughter invited all the ladies of Chadder Ghat to take refuge at the Residency which they did and whatever their real feelings their courage appeared as high as that of any man present.

(Sd.) A. C. DAVIDSON,
Resident."[1]

Hyderabad Residency, 18th July 1857.

(3)

"*Telegraphic message dated 20th July,* 1857

To

The Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort St. George.

The Minister has begged of me to have the subsidiary Force reinforced by another European Regiment previous to the Muharram. I am aware of almost the impossibility of European Troops being spared, but if a wing of the European Regiment could be at once sent to Masulipatam by steamer and every arrangement for its immediate march here was made it would arrive in time and probably prevent a revolt here and consequent upon it a general rising in Southern India. The Minister evidently doubts the trustworthiness of his own troops, and from the information I

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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have received since the attack on the Residency on the 17th instant, I am led to suppose that a rising in mass of the whole Muhammedan population against the British Government was intended.

C. DAVIDSON."[1]

(4)

"To
G. F. Edmonstone, Esqr.,
Secretary to Govt. of India,
Foreign Department,
Fort William.

Sir,

I have the honour in continuation of my despatch No. 59 of the 18th inst. to report that Rohilla Jamadar 'Toore Baz Khan' the leader in the attack on the Residency on the 17th inst. was taken prisoner at Mogulgidda after being wounded and is now in the custody of the Minister in the city. His wounds are supposed to be mortal and that he cannot live many days.

2. At the request of the Minister I directed my assistants Capt. Thornhill and Campbell to attend yesterday evening at his Kutchery to take down Toore Baz Khan's depositions, but he evidently would tell nothing or say whoever the instigators of the outbreak and what he did state was evidently false. I never expected that we should get anything out of him, indeed that he would be brought in here alive, as his confession if given would I am sure implicate many of the inhabitants of the city and several people who are in places of trust under our own Government.

3. The Moulavi Alla-ud-Din has not yet been apprehended although known to be in the city, which looks bad and that it is an object with certain parties to keep him concealed —he is so said to have a paper in his possession with 300 seals attached of those individuals implicated agreeing to join in the insurrection,—this may be a mere assertion. Still it is not improbable. All my efforts as yet to get hold of this document have failed.

4. The Minister is completely puzzled. His intelligence is evidently not so good as my own and he acknowledges he is completely at fault and does not know who he can trust.

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1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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5. Common rumour has it, that the movement was arranged by Shams-ool-Omrah's youngest son 'Iktidar-ool-Mulk' with a view to oust Salar Jung from the Ministry. His plan was that the party who left the city should surround, not attack, the Residency, when they were to be joined by all the Pathans of different descriptions who occupy a quarter of their own in the Residency Bazars at the back of the Residency and intimidate me into the release of the Buldhana prisoners after which they were to remain disobedient to all commands from Salar Jung till Iktidar-ool-Mulk stepped and directed them to return to the city. Such an idea was childish in the extreme with reference to the present temper of the whole of the lower classes and the impression generally of the population that our rule is at an end. The simple *darnah* would have very soon turned into a general massacre and insurrection had it not been met with energy and determination. In short it was easy to raise the storm but to allay and control it would have been a very different matter.

6. Neither the Minister nor the Noblemen of the Nizam's durbar can at the present moment control their followers and the only way is to meet force by force. I should have no hesitation in meeting the whole armed population of Hyderabad with every armed retainer and follower the nobles could bring into the field with the present Subsidiary Force, were we certain of the native troops, but we must not close our eyes to the fact that they have been tampered with and although the Madras Army has as yet remained faithful there is no knowing what might happen in case of continued *Reveisco-Counsecta* with this subject. I am informed a certain Moulavi warned Syed Ahmed still has meetings with the sepoys at a mosque between the city and Secunderabad and that the party who attacked us were assured by him that they would be joined by the Native Horse Artillery and had nothing to fear on their part.

7. I trust that the Government will not understand from the above remarks that I feel any despondency but it is absolutely necessary to be very cautious in the measures we pursue at present as the widely extended revolt elsewhere has led to a general impression in the native mind that our rule in India is nearly at an end and I fear this idea extends all through the Native Army.

8. The Arabs cannot be relied on and will evidently only be on our side as long as we are successful. That they could

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have prevented the escape of Toora Baz Khan is quite clear to me. His Highness states in his note that they returned to the city at 3 O'clock in the morning. It was 11 at night they were directed by Major Briggs to surround the two Houses where the insurgents were posted. The distance between the city and the Residency is not two miles. Indeed it was evident to me throughout that they were desirous all the insurgents should escape.

9. The Minister, it will be observed, is not apprehensive that anything further will take place until the Muharram and has pressed the necessity of the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force being increased by reinforcements of European Troops. I shall not fail even till that time to be on the watch as there is a sullen and sulky appearance among all the Muhammedan population at present although they are evidently awed by what has occurred. I have telegraphed to the wing of the 12th Lancers from Poonah and European Troops from Madras. In reply the Bombay Government has directed the march of the Lancers on Hyderabad and the Madras Government a movable column from Bangalore. I consider it of the most paramount importance with reference to the continuance of peace in Southern India that we should hold our own at Hyderabad.

10. The Nizam has behaved well on the present occasion and is very angry with his Minister at having been deceived for he had no intelligence. I have no reason to suppose that Shams-ool-Omrah lent himself in any way or was aware of the outbreak. Salar Jung is of course staunch to us indeed. I attribute his unpopularity and his want of reliable intelligence to the knowledge by all parties that he is head and heart with us.

11. There is no doubt in my mind that the people residing in the house called Ubbun Sahib's and the Sowcar Jye Gopal Doss were in collusion with the Rohilla party. They allege that fear induced them to admit them but the Sowcar had armed followers and had he sent for assistance and resisted with those men their forcible entrance into the premises we would have sent him help as in the case of Azim Ally Khan. I have under the circumstances directed the immediate demolition of both houses and if anything direct and positive can eventually be proved against the Sowcar he shall suffer condign punishment.

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12. I have under the powers vested in me by your letter No. 2724, dated 27th June 1857 promoted Jamadar Mohammad Comar of the F. Troop Madras Horse Artillery to Subedar and Risaldar Mahommad Ishmail to . . for their conspicuous gallantry on this occasion. I have also brought to the favourable notice of the Provincial Commander-in-Chief at Madras a daring although a very mad act on the part of Sergeant Lynch of the Madras Horse Artillery who single and alone rode at full gallop the gauntlet through the insurgents, as he says, to see what they were about.

13. I have requested Col. Henderson C. B. to make the Residency as tenable a Military Post as possible and he states that the Defences will be completed in a few days.

14. Of the troops sent down to reinforce the Residency escort I directed the 3 troops of the 7th Madras Cavalry to return to Secunderabad leaving one complete Troop on duty here.

15. I omitted in my former despatch to mention that my 2nd Assistant Captain Campbell joined the Troops immediately the alarm was given, and made himself useful in seeing the Infantry took up their position as directed and was ready to lead any party when Captain Bradley was absent.

16. I have only further to add and beg again to repeat that I attribute the successful defence of the Residency and the immediate repulse of the attack on it to Major Briggs's previous arrangements and great capacity for military command.

17. The documents appended as per accompanying list will explain fully the present state of affairs at Hyderabad and all that has occurred with reference to the attack on the Residency.

Hyderabad Residency,
23rd July 1857

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) C. DAVIDSON.
Resident."[1]

* * *

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 93.

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The number of killed on the side of the Rohillas is estimated at (about) twenty-five persons. The following contemporary account appeared in the *Englishman* of August 1, 1957[1]:—

"Without waiting to ascertain further particulars, or to find greater precision for my facts, I give you early information of an attack that was made yesterday, about 6 p.m. by a body of about 500 of the city Musulmans, on the Residency; 13 troopers belonging to the Rissala that had mutinied at Aurangabad, of whom several persons had suffered the extreme penalty of the law, deserted from Booldanah, where they were stationed, on hearing of the fate of the mutineers at Aurangabad; among these was one Cheeda Khan, a Jemadar, who had taken so prominent a lead in the conspiracy that 3,000 rupees were offered for his apprehension. These infatuated men fled to Hyderabad to seek protection from its Government. I will not give any opinion as to what their reliance was upon this Government, which had heretofore acted with a subordination towards the English Government that could not admit of a belief that the arch-conspirators of a mutiny deeply affecting its interests would be sheltered by it. Whatever their reliance, you may depend upon it that many others share in it by common opinion. The deserters were taken up by the Minister and sent to the Resident; it excited a general commotion, as if a sanctuary had been violated. Mahomedan Moulvies were busy in inflaming men's minds, and yesterday, being Friday, at about one o'clock we were startled by the troops and the guns at the Residency being placed in position to repel an attack. It would appear that a much larger congregation than usual had assembled at the Mecca mosque; it attracted the notice of the Government, and it was ascertained that their project was to carry four Moulvies along with themselves into the presence of the Nizam, and to have expounded to him by them the duties of a Mohamedan Sovereign, and to get him to obtain the restoration of the mutineers or to attack the Residency as a first movement. About three o'clock we were informed that the Minister had restored order, and that the guns and troops had returned to their former position. About half after five we were taken by surprise by a mob appearing, much greater than I have stated it to be, as consisting, besides the insurgents, of numerous spectators assembling at the south-western extremity of the Residency domain. In seven

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 214-215.

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minutes every preparation was made for receiving their attack; at about half-past six the insurgents broke down two of the Residency's gates, when three guns opened upon them, and seven shots drove them away to seek for shelter behind the walls of gardens which almost on every side surround the Residency. There was a cessation of firing. At about half-past eight it was ascertained that with the exception of a party of Rohillas the rest had dispersed. These Rohillas were headed by one Toora Baz Khan, whom you may possibly recollect as the prisoner with a circle of wood round his neck, to prevent his taking rest in a lying posture. This man was seen returning at five this morning, with about 20 Rohillas in his train, towards his dwelling in the Begum Bazar.

The universal voice, and probability with it, goes to impute the rising to a man in whose service Toora Baz Khan is said to be now, as everybody knows he was before, and near whose house in the Begum Bazar he at present resides. I am able to say on the best authority that at about 3 p.m. or rather somewhat later, the Minister had distinctly said there was no disorder in the city, nor any likelihood of it. He was correct, for the tumult that followed was not of the city, but principally from the Begum Bazar, a suburb. Four corpses were left on the field of action, the one of a lad, a mosaljee, between twelve and sixteen years of age, another of a Brahmin in the ordinary costume of his caste, the third of an idiot, and the fourth of a Moosulman known to be the son of a servant of a banker residing in the Begum Bazar. It would be a curious luck that would save the lives of the fighting men at the expense of these wretches. I conclude, therefore, and the information of the neighbours goes to the same point, that the killed and wounded among the Rohillas were carried off by their friends. The people having shops where the insurgents were assembled say about twenty-five dead bodies were carried off. It was conjectured as the Rohillas lurked about the Residency that they expected reinforcements. Three Moulvies were amongst the ranks of the insurgents. One of them is known to be Moulvie Alla-ood-Deen, a man of extraordinary stature, and who acted as standard-bearer.

Colonel Davidson with proper foresight obtained a reinforcement of two Companies of Europeans, three Horse Artillery guns, and some Cavalry from Secunderabad. The

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Nizam's Government was depended upon for sending Arabs; they came late, and in smaller numbers, I believe, but the system of these Native Governments is bad, and its working tortuous and replete with delay. Colonel Davidson's conduct does him high honour; his attention was divided between a correspondence with the city, frequent and, I conceive, of heavy pressure, and the affair immediately on hand, important only from certain ulterior considerations. He was prompt to decide in either case, which he did with a judgment in no way swayed by the excitement of the moment, and in a manner which exhibited deliberation and decision, coolness in giving his orders, without any of that haste and impetuosity and want of clearness but too frequent in such situations. I cannot conceive a more arduous situation than his at the present moment. Our bark is surrounded with danger and difficulty, but if he steer us safe through them too much honour cannot be rendered him. Our position here is highly important to the English Government, and there is no doubt that it will not neglect to take proper care that nothing in it now belonging to us be impaired."

After the night's attack, the Residency was reinforced by 200 European Infantry, 3 guns of the troop of Madras Artillery and a complete troop of the Madras Light Cavalry. Sand bags were erected all along the river-face of the Residency and bastions built at important points.

According to H. G. Briggs[1]:—

"Had any of the Moglaee princes or nobles of Delhi taken the initiative instead of Tantia Topee in stirring insurrection, Hyderabad must have given way. I firmly believe that the opportunity was alone wanting to make Hyderabad go like Delhi, Lucknow, and other Mohommedan cities; it was simply by maintaining a firm attitude while the populace and the seditious were waiting to see how affairs progressed elsewhere, that enabled the Residency to tide over the storm."

Records preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad, contain correspondence on the following subjects:—

1. The proceedings connected with the attack on the Residency.

1. *The Nizam* by H. G. Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

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2. Subsequent trial of Tura Baz Khan and Allauddin.

3. Escape of Tura Baz Khan from confinement and his death.

4. Transportation for life of Allauddin to Andamans.

The Resident in his letter to the Nizam, dated 18th July, 1857, informed as follows:—

"Last evening at 4 p.m. Toore Baz Khan, the Jemdar of the Rohillas, accompanied by others, entered the jurisdiction of the Residency. He and his associates broke down the gates of the Residency with a determination to attack. In reply guns were ordered to be put into operation. The insurgents took refuge in the houses of Ubban Saheb and Jai Gopal Dass. Firing continued throughout the night and Arab guards of the Nizam arrived after dark. They were asked to surround the houses sheltering the insurgents, but no proper arrangements were made by them. Today the Rohillas have decamped into the city carrying the wounded with them but leaving 4 corpses behind them. The Resident hopes that the Hyderabad Government would take the necessary steps in the matter."

In reply to the above letter the Minister informed the Resident that twelve of the associates of Tura Baz Khan had already been arrested by Ghulam Yasin Khan at a distance of 1-2 miles from the city; 3 had been arrested by the police and had been put in chains. The police were also in pursuit of the fugitives and rewards had been announced for the apprehension of these persons.

The Nizam in his reply expressed his regret at the occurrence and said that in spite of strong steps taken to prevent people from leaving the city, the Rohillas living in the suburbs had broken loose.

Orders were also issued to the Collectors and feudal chiefs to arrest Alauddin and Tura Baz Khan. As Tura Baz Khan was arrested by the *Sawars* of Mohamed Buddhan Khan, the latter was asked to hand him over to the Government troops. All the properties of Tura Baz Khan and Moulvi Alauddin were ordered to be confiscated.

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On the 20th of July 1857 the Resident through letter No. 782 wrote to say that Moulvi Alauddin was supposed to be hiding in the city and that the nobleman Iktidar-ool-Moolk was supporting him and that Tura Baz Khan was supported by Bundhe Khan. The Minister in reply informed the Resident through letter No. 1067 dated July 23, 1857, that search for Alauddin was being continued and that an explanation from Shams-ool-Umra, the father of Iktidar-ool-Moolk had been enclosed with the letter. This explanation denied any connection between Iktidar-ool-Molk and Alauddin. The fact appears to be that Alauddin was a relative of Shujauddin, a Sufi divine, who was much respected by Shams-ool-Umra. It was through Shujauddin that Shams-ool-Umra and his sons became acquainted with Alauddin, but there was no question of supporting him. Moulavi Alauddin used to visit them as any other Moulavi, but the relations were of a purely religious nature.

On 22nd July 1857 the Minister through his letter No. 1061 informed the Resident that Tura Baz Khan had been arrested but was found to be seriously wounded. Karamat Ali, the Magistrate of the Criminal Court, Fazlullah, the Magistrate of the Civil Court and Ghalib Jung had taken down his statements. That if it was desired to record his statement in the Cantonment it could be arranged. The Resident informed that some officers should be sent to help record his statement. He also informed Shams-ool-Umrah that he was now convinced that Shams-ool-Umrah and his sons were not involved in this affair. Moulavi Alauddin was also ultimately arrested in the village Mangalpally near Hyderabad. Alauddin was tried and sentenced to transportation for life. This information was conveyed by the Minister in his letter No. 985, dated 26th June 1859 to the Resident. Tura Baz Khan was also tried and sentenced to transportation for life. He, however, escaped from confinement and while he was being arrested again, he was shot down. The statements of Peer Mohamed, Alauddin and Tura Baz Khan as recorded are given below:—

(1)

Statement of Peer Mohammad son of Ahmed Ali, residing at Mouza Mangalpalli, Ibrahimpatan taluq

Q. Give the details of the events that took place in your house yesterday.

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A. Day before yesterday during the night time at about 2 a.m. a Government military detachment came to my house and arrested Moulavi Allauddin.

Q. How long did Moulvi Allauddin stay in your house?

A. The Moulvi Sahib had come to my house about fifteen or sixteen months back and stayed so far with me. He had come to me in the month of Rajab.

Q. When Moulvi Allauddin had come to your house, how did he introduce himself to you, and why did he stay in your house?

A. The Moulvi Sahib had informed me that Qamqam Jung misled him by saying that he was the spiritual leader and that they wanted to attack the Residency Kothi under his leadership, though he made excuses by reasoning that he was a holy man and had no concern with that sort of work. He also added that he was a preacher, who always carried his books with him and so may not be urged to accompany them. But the people did not listen to his excuses and took him in company with them by entreaties. On their way to the Residency Turrebaz Khan joined them with his followers. As soon as they reached the Kothi a cannon was fired and the people scattered and took to flight. Turre Baz Khan took refuge in Abban Sahib's house. In this attack there were about three hundred Rohillas and students. Later in the evening some three hundred more Rohillas joined the invaders and told Turre Baz Khan that they were prepared to give their lives if required. At this Turre Baz Khan replied that such a small number would not serve the purpose unless it was increased to four or five thousand. After that Turre Baz Khan addressing the mob said that he himself and Moulvi Sahib were prepared to give their lives; if any one of them was willing to do so he might accompany them, otherwise he might go out. Hearing this the mob began to disperse silently from the place, and only fifty or sixty Rohillas and students remained there. In the early morning when there was still darkness there were left only two or four persons, *i.e.,* Rafat Ali, Abdul Waheb and others.

They sent a message through the attenders saying that it was better for them to come out of the house of Abban Sahib otherwise they would have no chance of escape in the morning and they would be killed. Hearing this Turre Baz

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Khan told them that it was better to go out of that place. He added that they should go to Madna where he had already collected two thousand Rohillas and that they might return again with the Rohillas including many other persons. Accordingly Turre Baz Khan and others came out of the house of Abban Sahib and hastened away. They reached Begum Bazar. Turre Baz Khan near his house told me that he would go on horse while they may follow him very early. I replied that since I was going in a Miyana while he was riding on a horse, it was not possible for me to accompany him. At this he said that he would go first and that I might come after him. Upon this I replied that going in a Miyana was fraught with a grave risk. However I asked him to go while I continued my way relying on God. Hence Turre Baz Khan went into the house. The horsemen brought the horses and rode away. I went on foot and reached Razdar Khan Peth adjacent to Asafnagar. I passed the whole day there when there was only one student and two servants with me. I sent the student to the city to get my meals through the maid servant. In the meantime I cut off my hair with the dagger leaving just an inch. In the same way I cut short my beard. Then lessening the length of my turban, I made it into a Dastar resembling that of the Rohillas. I took the meals which the maid servant had brought and passed the whole night there. At about four hours before dawn I started from that place with two servants leaving the student and the maid servant behind. I came to the river by the route leading to Dhool Peth and then following the way outside the city walls I came to Fateh Darwaza. There I left the servant and went alone towards Shamsabad. From Shamsabad I went to Mouza Kochal where I took my meals at a well and went to sleep. In the morning I got my meals prepared by the people of that place and started for Farruknagar. There I passed a week or a fortnight in the surrounding places. Later, I went to my uncle's Makhta Mouza Arpatla and stayed there. From there I went to Syed Bhikku, son of Syed Lal, Mahsooldar Mouza Bangalore in the estate of Mozzam Jung, to call for my father from Mouza Bangalore. After he came back I asked him to find a safe house for me. Upon this he asked me to come to Bangalore where his own house was suited for my stay and he took me there. In the morning Mohammed Ali, Havaldar of Mouza Bangalore, who had come there, went to see Syed Lal, Mohsooldar. He told him that he had brought with him a holy person, the grandson (maternal)

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of Moulvi Shujauddin, to this place. Upon this he came to see me. I introduced myself to both of them. I told them that the house in which I was put up was a Government quarter and not suitable for my stay. So it would be better to find a house for me. The Havaldar was in search of the house for about six or seven days.

I, Peer Mohammad, was in my house at Mangalpalli. Some fifteen or sixteen months ago my nephew, Mohammad Ali, Havaldar of Bangalore, came to see me on a Thursday in the morning of Jamadi-us-Sani or Rajab. He informed me that Moulavi Allauddin and the grandson of Moulvi Shujauddin had come secretly to his house on account of the Residency riot, and were staying with him. The second day I met Moulavi Sahib. After that I came back to my house at Mangalpalli and cleaned and furnished a room for their stay. On Saturday I went to Moulvi Sahib and returned with him in the night of Sunday to my house at Mangalpalli. Mohammad Ali, Hawaldar, was also with us.

Q. Your statement reveals that Moulavi Alla-ood-deen lived for a few days in Farruknagar and in Bangalore. Later he came to your house at Mangalpalli, which shows that the Moulavi was wandering for about less than a month. But he had escaped in the month of Zekad 1273 H. and you state that he came to you in the month of Rajab. In view of this it is to be ascertained where he passed a period of eight or nine months. When he came to you in the month of Rajab, as stated by you, was it the year 1274 H. or 1275 H.? Recall your memory and give the correct years.

A. I have given my statement as was told by Moulvi Allauddin to me. I don't know as to where he spent the period of eight months. But I remember it that the Moulvi Sahib had come and lived with me at Mangalpalli either in the month of Jamadi-us-Sani or Rajab, 1274 H.

Q. When the Moulvi Sahib came to your house what bag and baggage were with him and what weapons and dresses, etc., had he brought with him?

A. There were about fifty or sixty rupees in cash with the Moulvi Sahib. He had also given me a sovereign, after seven or eight months, to cash it in the Bazar

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of Jaggamkunta. The sovereign was marked Mohammad Shah and valued at rupees sixty, so it was not sold and was taken back by him. As regards weapons, he had a sword, a pistol, a dagger and a gun with him along with a bag of gunpowder. He had some clothes and nothing else with him.

Q. You have stated that the Moulvi Sahib lived with you for about 15 or 16 months. How did he manage to bear his expenses during the above period and what were his monthly expenses?

A. Whatever the Moulvi Sahib had in cash he spent it. Sometimes he used to get money through Syed Bhikku, son of Syed Lal, Mahsooldar of Bangalore. I don't know from where he used to get the money. Syed Bhikku is still in service at Makta Arpatla, belonging to the uncle of Moulvi Sahib. He comes to Moulvi Sahib in the night time.

Q. Which other persons used to come to Moulvi Sahib openly or secretly?

A. Syed Bhikku, Syed Lal, Mahsooldar, Mouza Bangalore, Jagir Moazzam Jung Bahadur, and Mohammad Ali, Hawaldar of Mouza Bangalore, were the only persons who used to come there sometimes. There was no one else who used to visit him.

Q. Was the Moulvi Sahib accustomed to converse freely with those three persons in your presence?

A. He seldom conversed with them in my presence.

Q. State his conversation that took place in your presence.

A. I don't remember the conversation, so I cannot say anything about it. I was the owner of the house and I did not keep them with me.

Q. When you had brought Moulvi Allauddin with you, did you inform the Hawaldar of the Mouza or the Patwari of the place?

A. No. I did not inform them. Had I informed them there was the possibility of some disturbance and the army would have come for their arrest.

Q. When the Moulvi Sahib was residing in your house, was he accustomed to go out of the house often?

A. I used to get the food-stuff from the bazar and there was no necessity for him to go out.

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Q. Were you informed beforehand about the army when it came to arrest the Moulvi Sahib?

A. Had I been informed of it I would have helped the Moulvi Sahib to escape from the place and the army would have returned without him.

Q. Since you are on friendly terms with the Moulvi Sahib, had you any contact with him before he came to your house?

A. I swear that before I was introduced to Moulvi Sahib by Syed Lal I did not know him. Because the Moulvi Sahib was a holy man I gave him shelter not for worldly benefits but for futurity. I am not fond of the worldly things.

Q. After the Moulvi Sahib had created a riot the Government had announced a reward of rupees four thousand for his arrest and for the arrest of Turrebaz Khan. Were you not informed of this through the Naih, Patwari, Hawaldar, Collector or any other official of the district? Did you not know about him beforehand through anybody?

A. I did not get any information from any of the people living in the village though I had heard about him in the city. I have given out my reasons for keeping him in my shelter.

Q. Were you already aware of the Government announcement regarding the Moulvi Sahib or you were informed of it after he came to your house?

A. The Government announcement was made soon after his flight and this news came to me at that time only. The Moulvi Sahib had come to my house after about four or six months.

Q. It is evident from the details you have given about him that you had accompanied him to Mouza Bangalore; and had seen the events with your own eyes; and not that as told by the Moulvi Sahib.

Further from the details of events mentioned by you it is more likely that you are also aware of the conversation that took place between the Moulvi Sahib and Syed Lal and Syed Bhikku and that you remember it. It seems you have purposely avoided to

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mention it so that you may not be asked to say something else. You are therefore asked to mention all about the conversation of those persons without any hesitation. You may also state whether you had accompanied the Moulvi Sahib or not?

A. I had not accompanied Moulvi Allauddin from the city but I had met him at Bangalore. I have already given the details of the conversation that took place between Moulvi Sahib and the three persons. There is nothing else to say in this regard. The Moulvi Sahib had himself come to this place and he may be asked about it.

(Sd.) Peer Mohd.
Dated: 5th Zekad, 1275 *H.*

(2)

A Second Statement of Peer Mohammad, Native of Mangalpalli.

Dated: 9th Zekad 1275, *H.*

Q. You have stated in your previous statement that Moulvi Allauddin had secretly come to the said Mouza and stayed in your house in the month of either Jamadi-us-Sani or Rajab 1274 H. But the statements of Syed Lal, Mahsooldar, and Mohammad Ali, Hawaldar, show that they had brought the Moulvi Sahib to stay in your house in the month of Zehajja 1274 H. As such, you are asked to recall your memory and to say in which month the Moulvi Sahib had come to your house, so that the doubt about difference of dates may be removed.

A. As I had not remembered correctly I had dictated the month of Jamadi-us-Sani or Rajab 1274 H. But, in view of the statements of two persons, I say that it must be the month of Zehajja, 1274 H.

Q. In the previous statement you have dictated that when Moulvi Allauddin and Turrebaz Khan were in the house of the said Khan, four persons had called them back. Out of them you have given the names of two persons as being Rafat Ali and Abdul Wahab. Now give out the names of the remaining two persons.

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A. I had remembered the two names which I had heard from the brother of Jaji Sahib. I don't remember the other two names.

Q. During Moulvi Allauddin's stay in your house had he given you any talisman for driving out the epidemic disease?

A. Moulvi Allauddin did not give any talisman to anybody in my presence. Contrary to that, the disciples of Hazrat Syed Shah Sadulla had given the impression to my nephew, *i.e.*, Mohammad Ali Hawaldar Mouza Bangalore, and this impression was propagated among the people of the Mouza.

(Sd.) Peer Mohd.

(3)

Statement of Moulvi Allauddin, dated 5th Zekhad 1275 Hijri, Wednesday

Q. State the details correctly of the incident of the riot at the Residency Cantonment.

A. Prior to the incident of the riot I was informed that the names of Moulvi Ibrahim, Mirdha Chand, Moulvi Abdulla and Min Mazhar had been noted by the Dewan and the British Government as plotting for a riot at the Residency Cantonment. This rumour spread throughout the city. Many persons and the common public used to come to my house and inquire about the rumour of riot naming the above four persons. At the beginning of the month of Zekhad 1272 Hijri, one of the Inamdars of Madhol came to inform me of the news that the Dewan had issued orders as per the Firman of Huzur-e-Purnoor to send a military detachment to arrest the four persons. At that time there were two strong persons seated with me fully armed. In the meanwhile a few of my followers gathered and suggested that the Nawab Amir-e-Kabeer (Shamsul Umra) should be informed of the report. Accordingly I dressed myself in arms and went to see Nawab Ikhtadarul Mulk (son of Amir-e-Kabeer). Doctor Michael was seated there. After his departure, I reported the news to the Nawab. The Nawab assured me that it must be a rumour. He further added that had there been any such report, Nawab Mukhtarul Mulk would have informed him of the same. He said

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that he too had heard that my name and the name of Mohammad Akbar had been noted but that this did not seem to be true.

Nevertheless, Nawab Ikhtadarul Mulk assured me to be satisfied. But I had a doubt in my mind which developed and I began to think that whatever the Nawab had said was only for my satisfaction.

On a Friday I was busy in "Katm-e-Quran" in my house. An Afghan named Jaffer Khan came with two persons and fired a shot. I was not disturbed at this. A rumour spread in the locality that the military detachment had come for my arrest. A few persons gathered at my house.

This was the fourth time for the people of that locality to hear the gunshot. Just then ten or twelve persons rushed to the place. The news spread far and wide and people gathered. Seeing the people gathering I thought of dispelling the rumour. I asked the mob why they had gathered there. But the mob that gathered there to create a havoc did not listen to me. I was disappointed and believed that by the deeree of fate there was no escape from death. With this belief I came out of my house and went to Charminar. There I saw Jahangir Khan present with a few followers. Then Jahangir Khan told me that they should go to Moulvi Ibrahim Khan. Later, we went to the house of Moulvi Ibrahim. The people asked Moulvi Sahib to come out but he did not do so. Then I told the people that since they had come to meet their ruin, they should not ask others to die. From this place the mob moved through Champa Darwaza to the Residency Kothi. Others followed on the way. I knew not who was there and who was not.

Q. Who is Jahangir Khan?

A. Jahangir Khan is the same person who fired at the palace of Huzur-Poornoor and mentioned the same name to me.

Q. State what happened afterwards?

A. When we reached Begum Darwaza, Turrebaz Khan who was ready with a few Rohellas came to see me. He requested permission to ride along with me. I replied that he may have his own way. Then Turrebaz Khan and the others rode on before us and reached the house

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of Abban Sahib. Just then the British soldiers appeared with cannons. I was there near Putli Bawli. At the sight of the cannons the foolish mob attacked the cannons with their sticks, but the wise among them remained aloof. The cannon fired and the mob dispersed. I was left alone. I went to Turrebaz Khan at Abban Sahib's house. Turrebaz Khan told me that the tables were turned, so it was better to escape. I replied that he may go but I would prefer to die at the spot. At this, Turrebaz Khan prepared himself to die. When the morning dawned we offered prayers. Turrebaz Khan told me that though they had decided to die their dead bodies would be left to decay uncared. So it would be better to run away from that place. As all of them were of the same opinion we started from there and reached Begum Bazar. Now the day had dawned. Turrebaz Khan who was riding a horse left me alone and went his way while I went mine. I reached a hill and engaged myself in prayers. A few of the Rohellas were with us whom I asked to go away. Only a boy was left with me and there was no one else. I stayed there till the evening. By the fall of night I went towards Kunda, a place which I had seen before. I went there alone and stayed for about a month. Lastly for fear of being arrested I came to Mangalpalli. A Muslim person gave me shelter. I had stayed there till now.

Q. What is the name of that Muslim?

A. His name is Peer Mohammed.

Q. What place does he belong to?

A. He is a native of Mangalpalli.

Q. Where does he live?

A. He lives at this place only.

Q. Had you gone to Fareedabad also?

A. Excepting Mangalpalli, I never went to any other place.

Q. Were Abdul Wahab, Rafat Ali and Moulvi Syed Ahmed with you?

A. They were not with me. But they joined us near Champa Darwaza. I saw Rafat Ali and Abdul Wahab there but they were not seen afterwards. Syed Ahmed was not with us. I heard that he had been killed.

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Q. Had Kutub Khan come to speak to you?

A. In the month of Zekhad he visited me twice and went away. A third time when he came he spoke to me something vague. I told him that I was a poor man and suggested that the work to which he had drawn my attention could be done better by those who possessed arms and followers.

Q. Was Kutab Khan's conversation exciting or meaningless?

A. It was evident from the talk that he was only intending to undertake the task.

Q. State whatever you know about the task and how many persons took part in it?

A. Except the four persons whose names I have mentioned above I do not know the name of any other person.

Q. Give the names of the soldiers from among the Cavalry and Infantry that took part in the incident?

A. I don't know the name of any person.

Q. Was Peer Mohammad with you or did he come afterwards?

A. He was not with me. I did not hear afterwards that he had come, because no one could care for the other in the riot.

Q. Mention any other thing which you know?

A. There is nothing else to add to what I have already stated.

Q. How did you meet your expenses during your stay for two years at Mangalpalli?

A. I had some money and a sovereign with me which fact I never revealed to any one and lived upon meagre resources at Mangalpalli. The same thing has been revealed by Peer Mohammad. My expenses were limited and I managed with the amount at my disposal. Besides this, my aunt who is my mother-in-law as well sent some money for me, of her own accord, through Peer Mohammad. This was known only to myself, Peer Mohammad and my father-in-law.

Q. How could you reveal yourself now?

A. There were two reasons for it. The first thing was to get my sovereign cashed through Peer Mohammad. Secondly, I gave talismans to drive out an epidemic disease. These two things revealed my disguise.

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Q. Who had taken part in your plot to attack the Residency.

A. No body was with me. Even in my preparing for *Jehad* nobody participated with me.

Q. It is given on the 7th leaf of the written statement, dated 7th Shawal, of Munshi Tafazzul Husain that except four persons no one else took part in it. But now you mention facts against that?

A. I have mentioned that there was no one who was associated with me. However, the names of Mirdha Chand, Moulvi Abdulla and Moulvi Ibrahim were well-known to the people.

Q. How many times did Turrebaz Khan come to you and for what purpose?

A. Turrebaz Khan had come twice to Abdur Razzack at Hasanabad and Narayankhed to collect his debts from the Rohellas. But Abdur Razzack was not in the city. Turrebaz Khan sat with me for half an hour but he did not say anything about the riot. He had come in the month of Ramzan or Shawal.

Q. Had Kutub Khan dictated any letter in this regard?

A. The Khan had come two times but he did not dictate any letter. For a third time, when he visited me he had mentioned about the Civil War in India. I kept quiet and did not reply to him. The events happening in India were also known from the newspapers. I observed silence and made up my mind to go to the Taluq.

Q. State if there is anything else to mention. What have you said in reply to the second question of Tafazzul Hussain?

A. Whatever I said was noted by the Munshi. After that I was not called for giving any statement because I was sick of wounds. If the Government now wants to verify the statement, I will do so provided the Munshi is summoned to help me in the matter.

(Sd.) Moulvi Allauddin.

Witnesses:—

Moulvi Karamat Ali,
Moulvi Fazlulla, and
Moulvi Abdus Salam.

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(4)

Statement of Turrebaz Khan, dated 29th Zekad 1273 H., recorded by Moulvi Faizulla Khan, Ghalib Yar Jung, and Moulvi Mohd. Karamat Ali.

Turrebaz Khan, son of Rustum Khan
Occupation:—Unemployed

Q. Had you taken part in the riot at the Residency Cantonment at Gulbagh?

A. Yes, I had.

Q. Under whose orders and with whose permission did you take part in the riot?

A. I had taken part in the riot of my own accord. I was told that a religious flag was being carried in procession and when it came to the door of my house I saw many persons along with it. I also followed them.

Q. Do you know any one of the rioters?

A. I do not know any rioter. As the people informed me that the religious flag was hoisted for making *jehad* I took part in it.

Q. Were you going to the house of any of the citizens?

A. I never used to go to the house of any one living in the city.

Q. How many Rohellas were with you?

A. There was no Rohella with me.

Q. Was there any Moulvi with you or not?

A. A Moulvi with a large beard was with us whose name I know not. I did not speak to him. When I reached the house of Abban Sahib, the Moulvi also came there.

Q. How many persons were accompanying the Moulvi Sahib?

A. The Moulvi Sahib was accompanied by a single person.

Q. How long did you stay in that house?

A. I remained there till the morning call for prayers.

Q. How many rioters had gathered in that house?

A. There were ten or twelve rioters in that house. One of them was myself. The Moulvi Sahib, whose name I know not, three Arabs and six to seven Rohellas were the other persons.

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Q. When did you start from the city?

A. Two hours after sunrise I reached my house and called for a *miyana* from the house of Kutub Khan, son of Ghansi Khan.

Q. How many days before the riot did you call for the *miyana?*

A. I had called for the *miyana* two days before the riot.

Q. When you reached home two hours after the dawn did you meet Budhan Khan or not?

A. I neither met Buddhan Khan nor visited his house.

Q. Where is that *miyana?*

A. Ghulam Yaseen Khan had brought a gun, a *miyana,* a bedding and a copy of the Quran for me. There were forty rupees in the *miyana* out of which I gave thirty-eight rupees to the Bhoees and two rupees for my buffaloes. Soldiers came in search of me. I came out of the *miyana* and riding a horse escaped from the place. The soldiers were left behind me.

Q. Where did the soldiers of Ghulam Yaseen Khan meet you?

A. They had met me in the forest of Kowtwal Guda. I rode from that place to Mogal Gadda and told the Naib, a representative of Buddhan Khan, the details of the events that took place. From there I reached Sath Karwa where the fourteen Rohellas that were released from the prison were living with two other Arabs and two Rohellas. I got down from my horse in the jungle near an Ashoorkhana. The two Arabs and the two Rohellas began to prepare meals. In the meantime the Jawans of the Zamindar fired on us. I was standing on the other side of the horse. I received two shots one on the thigh and the other just above the knee. The four Rohellas that were set free also received wounds and my horse was shot dead. At this I cautioned them not to advance towards me but I did not fire my pistol at them.

Q. Which persons had participated in the riot?

A. I was riding fast on a horse along with the son of Budhan Khan when I had the news that the religious flag was

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coming. At the sight of the rioters the son of Budhan Khan returned to his house while I followed the rioters.

Q. Before creating the riot had you consulted anybody?

A. No, I did not do so.

Q. At what time did you join the rioters?

A. I joined them in the afternoon.

Q. From which door did the rioters come to the place?

A. I do not know.

Q. Did these twelve Rohellas arrested by Ghulam Yaseen Khan participate in the riot with you?

A. These Rohellas used to live in my house. They did not participate in the riot.

Q. Look at these twelve Rohellas and say which of them used to live in your house?

A. Hasan Khan and Sadulla Khan were in my house. I don't know the other persons.

Q. What did the British soldiers say when they came in front of you?

A. They did not come in front of me.

Q. Which of the rioters knocked down the hat of a British soldier?

A. I did not see that.

Q. Were you seated in the house of Abban Sahib and did you break the wall of Jaigopal's house?

A. We were seated in the house of Abban Sahib but we did not break the wall of Jaigopal's house.

Q. Did you also break the wall of the house of Azam Ali Khan?

A. When we had not broken the wall of Jaigopal's house how could we reach that place.

Q. Where were you at the first sound of the cannon?

A. I was in the house of Abban Sahib when the sound of the first cannon was heard.

Q. What was the strength of the rioters in the riot?

A. There were about two or three thousand persons.

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Q. Who was the other person riding on the horse? Since Syed Wali has noted that it was a fakir with a beard four inches long, who was he?

A. It was a Rohella named Fatah Khan, an employee of the Police Department. His nephew named Rasool Khan Akhta had come riding along with me from the city, but he escaped at the time of my arrest. The horse belongs to him only. Its colour is that of a leopard. The Khan had bought it for twelve or six rupees.

Q. Was any Rohella killed while you were being arrested?
A. Jan Mohammad Rohella was killed.
Q. Had Rasool Khan taken the contract of two annas?
A. Yes. Rasool Khan had taken the contract of two annas.

Q. Did an Arab call out from the tower to Khan Sahib saying that the army had reached that point, because Syed Wali has said the same thing in his statement.

A. The Arab might have said so but I did not hear it.
Q. Was Rasool Khan accampanying you in the city or not?
A. Rasool Khan had not taken part in the riot. Before the riots took place the fifteen Rohellas who followed me had prepared themselves to go out of the city. Though I asked them why they were following me, they would not reply but they came along with me.

(5)

A Second Statement of Turrebaz Khan, son of Rustum Khan.

Q. The statement of Abdul Khaliq shows that fifteen days before the incident of the riot at the Residency Cantonment took place you had come riding on a blue horse to see Moulvi Allauddin. You have also confessed before this that you had called for a *miyana* from Kutub Khan. Abdul Khaliq's statement further reveals that Kutub Khan had also come to see the Moulvi Sahib. It is clear that there was a common agreement among yourself, Moulvi Allauddin and Kutub Khan to take part in the riot. You are, therefore, asked to mention the true facts in your own interest and to help the cause of justice.

A. Sardar Ali and Jalal Khan, teachers by profession and Rohellas by caste, owed me rupees one hundred and fifty advanced by me to them without any interest,

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These two persons were the servants of Khaja Abdur Razzack alias Haji Sahib. They had promised to pay back the amount on their return from the Taluq to the city along with the aforesaid Haji Sahib. For this reason I had gone riding on a blue horse to the house of Haji Saheb. Upon inquiry I learnt that Haji Sahib was still in the Taluq along with the Rohellas. So I returned home. I did not meet Moulvi Allauddin because I did not know him. I do not know any other Moulvis except Moulvi Mohammad Karamat Ali, and the Kazi of the city. There is no difference between the statement which I have recorded before in the presence of Moulvi Karamat Ali and Moulvi Fazlulla and what I state now. I will not deny this statement till I breathe my last. Then I had no hopes that I would live but now I have recovered my health by the grace of God. I do not like to blame any one. I have only a formal acquaintance with Kutub Khan. I never visited his house to see him. On the other hand I have come in closer contact with his father in connection with the case of Mankadpa and Fiskal. About that time Kutub Khan was in Arcot.

Four days before the incident of the Residency riot, when I had to go to the bazar at Mogalgidda for fetching grain for my horses, I had called for a *miyana* from Kutub Khan, because I was not doing well. He sent the reply that a *miyana* could not be given on a verbal request. If asked for in writing, he said, it could be furnished. Accordingly, I got a letter written by Moulvi Daulat Khan and sent for a *miyana*. If your Lordship would call for the letter in question from the Khan the truth will be known.

(Sd.) TURREBAZ KHAN.

I verify the above statement.
(Sd.) Ahmed Bin Salim, of
Ghalib Jung's estate.

I verify the above statement.
(Sd.) Shaik Ali Bin Abdulla-hul-Jaffari, of Ghalib
Jung's estate.

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The following judgment was delivered by the Hyderabad City Court after trying (Moulvi) Syed Allauddin:—

JUDGMENT IN CRIMINAL CASE

The British Government (*Plaintiff*)
versus
Syed Allauddin (*Defendant*)

This case was referred to the City of Hyderabad Authorities. The summary of the statement of Syed Allauddin is as follows:—

"I have heard for the first time about Moulvi Ibrahim, Min Mazhar, Moulvi Abdulla and Mirdha Mohammad Chand as persons whose names have been noted by the Dewan Sarkar and the British Government as abettors who fomented the riot in the Residency Cantonment and that this news had spread throughout the city and had received wide publicity. Before going to the Residency Kothi, there was nobody with me. No infantry or cavalry personnel was with me. Kutub Khan had visited me three times in the month of Zekhad 1272 H., and in the third visit he informed me about the Mutiny in India. I remained silent. Again the Khan introduced the topic indirectly so that I may say something to him. I replied that I was a poor man and this task could be undertaken only by great men having the support of an army with them. Turrebaz Khan had come to Abdur Razzack in the months of Ramzan and Shawwal to claim the debts due from the Rohellas of Hasnabad and Narayankhed. But Abdur Razzack was not in the city at that time. Turrebaz Khan sat with me for half an hour and said nothing about the riot. After that the incident about Jahangir Khan was heard on Friday. It was stated to have occurred in the palace of the Huzur. After two persons had fired their guns, twelve others gathered at the spot on hearing the report of the guns. This news spread all round and many unknown persons gathered. I inquired why they had collected. Since these persons had gathered for rioting none of them replied to me. Having lost all hopes of life I was impelled to think that there was no escape from death. I started from my house towards Charminar. Here Jahangir Khan and some other persons had gathered. Jahangir Khan told me that they should go to the house of Moulvi Ibrahim. The rioters urged the Moulvi to come out of the house but he would not. I told them that since they

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had come to die they should not involve others in danger. The rioters moved from this place through Champa Darwaza to the Residency Kothi. On the way in Begum Bazar, Turrebaz Khan, who was seated with a few Rohellas, joined us. The Khan and his Rohella followers reached a point opposite to the house of Abban Sahib. Here we saw British soldiers standing guard with their cannons. By this time myself and the rioters had reached Putli Bawli. At the sight of the cannons most of the rioters ran away and the remaining attacked the cannons. But as the cannons fired they dispersed. Turrebaz Khan and myself entered the house of Abban Sahib and passed the night there. By dawn Turrebaz Khan went to Begum Bazar and I too went to the hill near Begum Bazar. I remained there with some Rohellas for a few days and then left. There was no one with me except a boy in my exile. I lived for about a month in Soorkonda. Later, out of fear of being caught, I went over to Mangalpalli. Peer Mohammad of the said village did not know me, though he had heard about me. He gave me shelter in his house. I gave him a talisman to rid the village of an epidemic which was just then raging there. This revealed the secret of my hiding."

Whereas Syed Allauddin had intended to attack the Residency due to his false superstition, he deserves the punishment of transportation for life.

Seal of Karamat Ali
Seal of Fazlullah
Seal of Abdus Salam

12th Zekhad, 1275 Hijri

* * *

Moulvi Allauddin was, as a result of the trial, sentenced to transportation for life. On 28th June 1859 he was sent out of Hyderabad on his way to the Andamans. He remained there a prisoner till his death in about 1884.

Moulvi Turre Baz Khan was also tried and sentenced to transportation for life. Although the Resident informed the Government of India that Turre Baz Khan's crime was serious and the punishment given to him was insufficient, the Governor-General did not change the sentence passed by the Hyderabad Court. While Turre Baz Khan was in custody waiting to be transported, he managed to escape from

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the jail on 18th January 1859. This news was conveyed by the Diwan to the Resident in his letter dated 19th January 1859. The escape seems to have been effected with the active assistance of two sentries, who also decamped with the prisoner. Instructions were issued to the police and the army to trace Turre Baz Khan. A proclamation made on 19th January 1859 announced a reward of Rs. 5,000 to any one who would apprehend Turre Baz Khan. In the course of a week Turre Baz Khan was apprehended by Kurban Ali. This was reported by him to the Diwan on 24th January 1859. A gist of his report is given below[1]:—

"On learning of Turre Baz Khan's movements I led a party, accompanied by Mohammad Khan, Jamedar, and reached his hiding place. I identified Turre Baz Khan, who had a scar mark near one of his eyes. I wanted to arrest him but he and his associates drew their swords and attacked us. We then fired. In the course of the struggle Turre Baz Khan and one of his associates were killed and the remaining three of the party escaped into the jungle. No trace of them could be found owing to darkness. The bodies of Turre Baz Khan and his companion are being sent under the escort of Ghulam Hyder, Babu Lal and their party."

The body of Turre Baz Khan was brought to Hyderabad and was hung up by chains in a public place. Such was his end.

This episode of the attack on the Residency on 17th July 1857 resulted in the prevention of fresh outbreaks in the city. However, for a period of nearly three years from this date great tension prevailed in the communities of the city, particularly when the emissaries of Nana Saheb Peshwa and Tatya Tope worked among the people and Rao Saheb Peshwa, the nephew of Nana Saheb made a brief sojourn in the city of Hyderabad. By the middle of 1857 trouble had also spread to the districts. The small principality of Shorapur, in the district of Gulbarga, was at this time, simmering with discontent and was causing anxious concern to the Resident. The story of Shorapur's rising against the British and the fate of its Raja Venkatappa Naik will be narrated in the following chapters.

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1. From files preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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Chapter V

RAJA VENKATAPPA NAIK OF SHORAPUR

Shorapur, about 1857, was a small principality in the district of Gulbarga. This area was inhabited chiefly by the clan of the Bedars, a community which had played a notable part in fighting against Aurangazeb during his Deccan campaign. The State of Shorapur was formerly feudatory to the Marathas, but it came under British influence at the beginning of the 19th century. Internal disturbances, caused by local intrigues, called for the interference of the British Resident and Capt. Meadows Taylor of the Nizam's army was appointed to administer the State during the minority of its Raja Venkatappa Naik. After the Raja became a major the State was handed over to him in 1853 and Meadows Taylor returned to Hyderabad. At the beginning of 1857 Raja Venkatappa Naik started recruiting Arabs, Rohellas and others for his army. His seditious activities also came to the notice of the Resident as is apparent from the statements of the Raja. Emissaries from Nana Saheb Peshwa and the Zamindars of the Raichur district seem to have encouraged Raja Venkatappa Naik in his ambition. The following correspondence throws considerable light on the conditions prevailing in Shorapur about this time:—

(1)

"*By Express*

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,

Secretary to the Government of India,

Foreign Department,

Fort William.

(Political Department).

Sir,

I have the honour to request that you will do me the favour to submit the correspondence noted in the margin[1] for the information of the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor General in Council.

2. I have of late had frequent cause to regard the proceedings of the Shorapur Rajah with much distrust and the

1. The items noted in the margin of the original letter have been omitted in this reproduction as they are of no relevance to our narrative.

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correspondence now submitted is merely illustrative of a variety of complaints which have been forwarded to me from different quarters. At the present moment it seems hardly desirable to trouble His Lordship in Council with the perusal of a larger number of papers on the subject.

3. All my remonstrances are not by direct demands of any desire to give cause for offence but the Rajah's general character is so bad that his assertions can hardly be deemed worthy of credit.

4. It will be observed that I have desired Lt. Taylor to keep a careful watch on the Rajah's proceedings and to use his best endeavours to keep matters quiet and at some convenient time I propose to summon the Rajah to Hyderabad to account for his present conduct.

5. I do not anticipate that he will be guilty of any overt act of hostility but he is so weak and so completely under the control of the ill-disposed people about him that it is necessary to have him narrowly watched.

6. In Lt. Taylor's demi-official letter attention is made to the Rajah of Wanparty. This chief is now at Hyderabad and has been here for many months and I have no reason to suppose that he is in any way implicated with the Shorapur Rajah's proceedings; indeed he has assisted me in many ways at the present crisis and has shown he is anxious to do good service to the British Government.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) F. C. Davidson,
Resident."[1]

Hyderabad Residency,
12th August, 1857.

(2)

"From

R. N. Taylor,
Offg. Dy. Commissioner,
Raichore Doab.

To

Capt. A. R. Fernhill,
1st Asstt. Resident,
Hyderabad.

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 94.

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Dated Lingsoogoor, 29th September 1857.

(Political Department).

Sir,

In reply to your letter No. 1064 of 2nd current forwarding for report copy of a statement of one Mypal Sing lately executed at Belgaum, I have the honour to state that my enquiries lead to the belief that the person was sent to Belgaum with cognizance if not by the orders of the Rajah of Shorapur.

2. What orders he actually received and by whom they were conveyed, I can of course obtain no positive proof but there is little doubt that the object was intrigue of a nature at least unfriendly to the Government he pretends to regard with feelings of loyalty and fidelity.

3. On the subject of the disclosures made by Mypal Sing I addressed the Rajah and pointed out the ample reasons that existed with the Resident and the Bombay Government to be suspicious of his conduct, to place no faith in any of his assurances and to keep in consequence that strict watch over his country and himself so as to ensure both Governments against any disturbance by him or his affecting in any way the peace of the country under their administration.

4. I assured him that these instructions would be carried out to the letter; directed him to warn the inhabitants of his country that any person or persons found on the River Krishna at any point except by the regular ghats would be apprehended and confined; called upon him to redeem his name by open acts tending to show his fidelity and loyalty to the state; and in conclusion ventured to give him my advice as to the line of conduct best calculated to save his country and himself, *i.e.,* the immediate disbandment of all his newly raised mercenaries and the appointment of a proper Dewan to manage his country in lieu of the present useless one.

5. I might have added that prompt attention to the instructions of the Resident regarding the restoration of stolen property would be no small additional proof of his intended amendment but this subject will form occasion for a separate report.

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6. In reply to my letter the Rajah emphatically denies the allegations of Mypal Singh; declares himself as most faithful subject of the Sarkar which had always protected him and which, he grieves to find now, doubts him; asserts that he received many and valuable instructions and lessons he has never forgotten and is always endeavouring to carry out and renews his assurance that in eight days he will certainly discharge all his extra horse and foot.

7. He has since applied for a pass across the Krishna River for horsemen whom he had discharged but I have thought it right in the first place to assure myself of their numbers and ultimate place of (destination).

8. Such is the point at which we now are, and although it was reported that the Rajah, if decided to be possible, would choose the last day but one of the Dusserah for the purpose, that feast has passed off without, I believe any signs of disturbance in his country.

9. Latterly spies have been sent into cantonment here from Shorapur but I suspect rather with a view of ascertaining our intentions regarding any aggressive movement into that country, our means and force to carry it out than with any intention of finding any weak points here with ulterior views of attempting to attack us.

10. I am nevertheless in receipt of constant intelligence from that city, and the Police and the villagers at every point are on the alert.

11. I think there is reason now to believe that at all events until the river goes down there is no probability of the peace of the Doab being disturbed by any parties of aggressors whatsover.

Lingsoogoor,
29th September, 1857.

I have, etc.,
(Sd.) R. N. Taylor,
Offg. Dy. Commissioner,
Raichur Doab."[1]

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1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 94.

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(3)

"To

Capt. W. R. Campbell,
2nd Asstt. Resident,
Hyderabad-Dn.

(Political Department).

Sir,

So many reports of an unsatisfactory nature have from time to time reached the Resident regarding the present state of the Shorapur country, and the proceedings of the Rajah in his management of his Sumusthan and such frequent alarms have been spread in the neighbouring districts owing to the alleged intentions of the Bedur population to rise in revolt that I am desired by Col. Davidson to request that you will at once proceed to Shorapur with a view to instituting an enquiry on the spot and reporting as fully as may be in your power on the present conditions of the country both as regards the conduct of the Rajah himself and the feelings and intentions of the people in general.

2. You will be good enough to place yourself in communication with Lt. Taylor, Offg. Dy. Commissioner, Raichore Doab, who will acquaint you with all the reports and evidence which are at his command and you will then apply to the officer commanding at Lingsgoor for an Escort, with which he has been desired to furnish you.

3. Lt. Taylor will be able to supply you with detailed information regarding the enquiry to be instituted but among the most important points are the following:—

4. In the month of August last the Resident received from the Bombay Government a statement made by a person named Mypal Sing who was executed at Belgaum amongst the troops at that station. This man declared that he had been deputed by the Rajah of Shorapur for treasonable and seditious purposes and it is desirable that an enquiry should be made and the Rajah required to prove that the man was not acting with his knowledge.

5. In October last Lt. Kerr, Commanding Southern Maratha Horse, forwarded copies of two seditious letters, which had been seized in the house of a Police Patell in the

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Dharwar Zilla, supposed to have been written by one Anand Rao of Shorapur. Copies of these letters are enclosed and they should form a subject of enquiry.

6. It is very generally believed that a Brahamin by name Nana Sumkeshwar has recently been deputed by the Rajah as an emissary to Nana Saheb and the Rajah should be strictly questioned on this point and required to produce the Brahamin or prove to your satisfaction where he is.

7. The Rajah has constantly been accused of entertaining additional troops and of laying in supplies of powder etc., and has as often denied it. It would be advisable that you endeavour to ascertain the truth there may be in such reports. One Khumurally Zamedar is said to have engaged to supply him with large number of troops.

8. Several dacoities have recently taken place in the Shorapur country. Amongst others Iaghur village of Raja Venkatappa Naik has been looted. It is generally believed that these dacoities are not only perpetrated with the knowledge of the Raja but actually by his orders and that his object is by this means to raise a sum of money to enable him to organize an expedition of plunder on a large scale beyond his own border. He should be called upon to answer or explain away this and it would be distinctly explained to him that owing to the present state of misrule and disorganization in his territory his neighbours are annoyed by constant alarms—a state of thing which cannot be and will not any longer be permitted.

9. The Raja's attention should at the same time be invited to General Low's letter of advice on the occasion of his coming of age and receiving charge of his country.

Hyderabad Residency,
24th December, 1857.

I have etc.,

(Sd.) A. R. THORNHILL,

1st Asst. Resident."[1]

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 94.

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(4)

Private letter from Salar Jung to Capt. Thornhill

February 3, 1858.

"My Dear Capt. Thornhill,

I received information about 5 days ago from the men I have employed to procure intelligence that the Raja of Shorapur has sent persons to this city to entertain Arabs for his service, but deferred writing to you on the subject till I could obtain confirmation of the report from the Arab Jamdars. Today Abdoolla bin Ali sent Rustoom Jung to me to say that he has heard from his Talukas as well as in the city here that the Shorapur Raja is entertaining troops and that he has sent a Mutsaddi and an Arab to engage Arabs here; that the Arabs here refused to take service because no fixed period of employment is guaranteed to them and because they think he may require their services to fight against the Circar, which would end in their ruin. Abdulla bin Ali says also that the Arab from Shorapur is one of those who was engaged in the Badamee disturbances and that in searching for him he appears to have made his escape from Hyderabad but he will endeavour to seize the Mutsaddi. I have given him strict injunctions and other Arab Jamedars to make every exertion to seize the Shorapur emissaries but I have little confidence in their alacrity in the discharge of this duty if we remember the want of success experienced during the Badamee affair notwithstanding all exertions of General Fraser, Capt. Malcolm and Raja Chandulall himself. I shall however issue orders to the Jamedars and others in the city and the districts to search for and apprehend any of the Shorapur people who may be found on such errands. In the meanwhile I think it right to apprise the Resident and yourself of what has come to my knowledge as it is probable the Raja of Shorapur will entertain Rohillas and other mercenaries as well as Arabs and in order that if the Resident finds there is truth in these reports he may adopt such measures as he may deem necessary as regards that part of the country under the circumstances I have stated of the correctness of which how-

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ever I am not myself quite certain as yet.

15th January, 1858.

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) SALAR JUNG.

P.S.—Any further information I may obtain on this subject shall be communicated to you hereafter."[1]

(5)

"*By Express.*

To

G. F. Edmonstone Esqr.,
Secretary to Government of India,
Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

In my dispatch No. 139, dated the 12th September last, I brought to the notice of the Rt. Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council the many occasions on which the Raja of Shorapur had lately given me cause for regarding his conduct with distrust and that I in consequence intended to summon the Raja to Hyderabad at some convenient time to account for his behaviour an intention which met with His Lordship's approval but on the 24th December last in letter No. 198 I reported that I had deemed it more advisable to depute my 2nd Asstt. Capt. Campbell to Shorapur to institute on the spot an enquiry into the Raja's proceedings.

2. I beg to enclose copy of my letter of instructions to Capt. Campbell in which I requested him to furnish me with as complete a report of the State of the country and feeling of the people as may be in his power, giving for his guidance the heads of the principal causes of complaint against the Raja.

3. I would here mention that I received a further remonstrance from Bombay against the constant annoyance caused by this Raja shortly after I had deputed Capt. Campbell to proceed to Shorapur, stating that if necessary they were prepared to take measures to coerce the Raja; in reply to which I requested that the Political Agent, Southern Maratha Country, might communicate with Capt. Campbell with a view to substantiate the charge against the Raja but I added that as yet nothing tangible of beyond vague reports had reached me. .....

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol. 94.

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4. Capt. Campbell arrived at Shorapur on the 11th January 1858 and at once entered on duty entrusted to him. He was received with every civility by the Raja who strenuously denied all intention of giving offence to the British Government and expressed a hope that arrangements may be made for the better management of his affairs.

5. At this time Capt. Campbell received a letter from Lt. Col. Malcolm remarking upon the alleged increase to the Garrison and the Military stores of the Frontier Forts and suggesting that they should be reduced to their former standards. The Raja positively denied that any such increase had been made and invited inspection of the suspected places. A few days after Capt. Campbell proceeded to Rainpalla, the fort which had caused the most anxiety on the Bombay Frontier and the result of the inspection leads to the supposition that the reports, which in this instance had reached Lt. Col. Malcolm had been exaggerated. The Raja was evidently most anxious to keep all quiet on the Bombay Frontier and on the 19th Capt. Campbell reported that Lt. Col. Malcolm had announced his intention of withdrawing his troops from the immediate neighbourhood of the Shorapur country.

6. On the 14th January it came to Capt. Campbell's knowledge that a party of Rohillas (about 150) had taken up their abode in a Masjid close to the town. The Raja expressed the greatest surprise and consternation at this occurrence, declared himself utterly ignorant of the presence of these men, who he added, must have been attracted by the rumours which had been spread upon Capt. Cambell's approach. This party was ordered across the Frontier that same night.

7. On the 21st January Capt. Campbell while alluding to the despicable character of the Raja and the unsatisfactory state of his country reported that he saw no reason to suppose that there was any desire on the part of the Bedur population to rise in revolt. On the subject of the statement of Mypal Singh to the effect that he had been deputed by the Raja or any of his people for seditious purposes Capt. Campbell had been able to gain no satisfactory information one way or the other regarding the two seditious letters which had been forwarded by Lt. Kerr nor on the

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subject of the deputation of Nana Sunkeshwar to Nana Sahib. Another complaint against the Raja was that he had caused Honsesegee, a Jagir village of his uncle, to be plundered. There seems to be no doubt that if he did not actually order this affair he winked at it and he has promised full satisfaction to all injured parties.

8. A further complaint against the Rajah was that a native officer, and a Sawar of the Southern Maratha horde who had been sent by Lt. Kerr into the Shorapur country in disguise to obtain information were fired on from the Fort of Rampalla. This was met on the part of the Rajah by a frivolous counter accusation to the effect that these men had maltreated two Bedurs. No doubt a shot was fired and the horsemen were not permitted to enter the ghuree, but it is not clear that the shot was fired with any hostile intention but merely to give warning to the neighbourhood to be on the alert.

10. At this time Capt. Campbell had many reasons for believing that mercenary soldiers were entering Shorapur in small detached parties, but he could arrive at nothing conclusive until the 28th when the Dewan waited upon him by desire of the Rajah for the purpose of confessing that he had ordered five Jamadars to raise 500 men each (in all 2500, Arabs, Rohillas and others), that he had passed his agreement to pay these people under any circumstances for six months and that 346 armed men had arrived. The Dewan added that the Rajah had been led into this folly by the many reports regarding our intended march upon his country, that they were engaged entirely for purposes of defence but he knew not how to get rid of them, as nothing short of payment in full of the written agreement would satisfy them, and this was quite beyond the means of the Rajah. The Rajah himself also acknowledged the truth of the above statement to Capt. Campbell in the Darbar.

11. I may here mention that, on the 15th January, His Highness the Nizam's Minister brought to my notice that he had reason to believe that agents were being employed to raise Troops for Shorapur. About the same time a letter from an Arab in Wanpurty to his friend here giving as news the facts that Arabs were being employed for Shorapur was delivered to me by the Rajah of Wanpurty and I have since

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further corroborated the fact that agents have been employed here by sending two men in disguise to take service and who have been duly entertained by one Salim Bin Mohammad whom I have called upon the Minister to apprehend.

12. On the receipt of Capt. Campbell's letter No. 17 I at once ordered Capt. Wyndham to proceed to Shorapur from Lingoosgoor with all the Troops and guns available for Capt. Campbell's protection. I telegraphed to Bombay requesting that if convenient Troops might be marched on Shorapur and that if necessary the Madras Government might be solicited to send forward the Kurnool Movable column and I addressed the Nizam's Minister calling upon him to apprehend all armed parties escaping from Shorapur and notify that all Jamadars, etc., supplying mercenaries to this Rajah would be guilty of an act of hostility against the British Government.

13. The Bombay Government replied that the Field Force at Kulladghee had been ordered to co-operate for a combined attack on Shorapur, that the Madras Government had been requested to order the advance of the movable column (this left Kurnool on 2nd) and that General Lester at Dharwar had been ordered to send all the reinforcements he could spare to Lt. Col. Malcolm.

14. The Troops that will shortly assemble at Shorapur then are as follows:—

2 18-Pounder guns, if carriage can be procured.
2 9-Pounder guns, manned by Europeans.
2 (?)-Pounder Guns.
2 5½-inch mortars.
200 Southern Maratha Horse.
400 European Infantry.
900 Native Infantry.

Kurnool Movable column under Major Hughes:—

2 9-Pounder guns.
1 24-Pounder Howitzer manned by ½ Company of European Artillery.
1 Squadron Native Cavalry.

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2 Companies, 74th Highlanders.
2 Companies, 47th Native Infantry.

From Lingsgoor under Capt. Wyndham:—

2 12-Pounder Howitzers.
40 Sowars, Hyderabad Contingent.
About 400 bayonets, Hyderabad Infantry.

From Bolarum under Capt. Biden:—

2 5½-inch Howitzers.
2 6-Pounder guns.

15. I beg to annex copies of letters which I have addressed to Capt. Campbell and Lt. Col. Malcolm from which it will be seen that I have requested on the arrival of the Troops the Rajah may be called on to join Lt. Col. Malcolm's camp and answer before Military Commission the charges against him and that I have further cautioned Lt. Col. Malcolm to take no assault on the place until he is assured that he has sufficient strength to ensure complete success.

16. All remained quiet at Shorapur upto the 31st ultimo. Capt. Campbell's letters upto that date show that the mercenaries continue to collect and the Rajah is unable to get rid of them. He requires either money or force to accomplish their expulsion. These letters contain little more of interest with the exception of letter No. 21 in which he reports having received warning of an intended rising of Bedurs in Devadroog. Lt. Taylor, Dy. Commissioner, is making enquiries into the truth of the statement but as the Kurnool Column will march through Devadroog, I do not feel any apprehension on this point.

17. There is no doubt the charge of having engaged mercenaries with a view to hostility against the British Government will be proved against the Rajah even should he or these men not proceed to any acts of actual warfare against our troops. It is then necessary to determine what in either of these cases should be done.

18. The Rajah has by many acts proved himself entirely unfit to govern his country, and it will be seen by enclosure No. 20 which was transmitted to Government with

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letter No. 105, dated 15th July 1853 that General Low, then Resident at Hyderabad, warned him what would be the consequences of his pursuing the course tending to the mismanagement and mal-administration of his principality. I would also request the perusal of despatch No. 2339, dated the 30th April 1856 from your office enclosing extract of despatch from the Hon'ble court.

19. Under the circumstances enumerated above I see nothing to extenuate the conduct of the Rajah of Shorapur and I therefore conceive he should be dealt with as a rebel who was discovered levying men for hostile purposes against our Government and would arrest, imprison and remove him from Shorapur confiscating at the same time his principality.

20. In the event of the Rajah with his mercenaries or followers proceeding to acts of actual warfare our adoption of such a course above will be equally plain and more imperative

21. Ever since the outbreak of the Revolt in Hindusthan rumours of the hostility of the Rajah of Shorapur to our Government have constantly reached me but I did not until now feel myself strong enough to bring him to account. There is not a doubt in my mind that he has been all along hostile to us and that it has not been from fear alone as he alleges that he has acted as he had done. Indeed I believe, he only watched his opportunity to openly declare himself against us.

22. The difficulty occurs, *viz,* whose subject or feudatory is the Shorapur Rajah? It will be observed by a reference to the correspondence in your office regarding the Shorapur State—it was urged that the Peshwa and the Nizam's Governments had equal claims on the allegiance of the Shorapur State. Those of the latter it appears we considered as waived and all political connection between the two states (Nizam's and Shorapur) lapsed with the cession of the two districts of Andolah and Neloogoe to the Nizam in 1842 on the annual payment of 40,000 Hyderbad rupees in lieu of these districts through our instrumentality but then Shorapur is within the Nizam's frontier and is His Highness's territory agreeably to the boundary defined after the Maratha war of 1818, and it

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will be seen on this account the Bombay Government in a recent correspondence desired to hold the Nizam to a certain extent responsible for the Rajah's acts.

23. I sincerely trust that Col. Malcolm will bring all the mercenaries he finds at Shorapur to condign punishment. It is high time these free lances of the Deccan be taught that if they engage in service with a view to hostilities against our Government they do so at the peril of their lives.

24. A severe example is absolutely necessary in the existing state of the country as the insolence and avowed hatred of these races to our power and country are openly proclaimed, and it will be seen by the present instance they are ever ready to form the nucleus of the rebellion against the British Government. I have no hesitation in saying that conciliation and a temporising policy hitherto adopted towards these lawless mercenaries will not have the same good result as the employment of coercion and the fear of being crushed and suppressed by actual force, whenever they dare even to show a sign of rebellion towards British supremacy.

25. Neither the Nizam nor his Government have shown signs of a desire to give support to the Shorapur Rajah but, as His Highness has some timidity in issuing the proclamation, I deemed requisite, to the Arabs and Rohilla Jamadars etc. directing them to refrain from affording any aid, feeling it might restrain them or their followers from creating some disturbance, I deemed it prudent, if it could be spared, that Brigadier M. Duff's Brigade which will arrive here about the 6th instant should reinforce for a time the Hyderabad Subsidiary Force. With this request the Madras Government have complied as will be seen by enclosures; and on this subject I have made the necessary communication to Major General Coffin.

I have etc.

Hyderabad Residency,
3rd February, 1858.

(Sd.) C. Davidson,
Resident."[1]

* * *

1. The Hyderabad Residency Records, Vol, 94,

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As will be apparent from the above correspondence, Davidson, the Resident, despatched his assistant Captain Campbell to Shorapur early in January 1858. Captain Campbell tried to restrain Raja Venkatappa Naik, but when he found that it was a fruitless endeavour he proceeded to the nearby Cantonment of Lingsugur and ordered Capt. Wyndham to march on Shorapur. Accordingly Wyndham reached Shorapur on the 7th of February 1858. He camped in an open plain. The same night the party was attacked by the troops of the Raja consisting of Bedars, Arabs and Rohellas estimated to be about five to seven thousand strong. The attack continued all night and in the morning Wyndham received reinforcements from Lingsugur, at the arrival of which the Raja's troops stopped attacking and withdrew to an eminence near that town. The next day Wyndham received reinforcements under Major Hughes who brought two Companies of the 74th Highlanders and the Madras Cavalry. A squadron of the 8th Madras Cavalry under Captain Newberry led the attack and fell upon the main body of Rohellas which had joined the Rajah. In the fight that followed Captain Newberry was killed and his subaltern, Lieutenant R. C. Stewart was severely wounded. The forces of the Rajah were driven into the town. It was decided by Wyndham to await the forces of Col. Malcolm which were rapidly approaching from Kaladgi in the district of Bijapur.

In view of these developments Raja Venkatappa Naik left Shorapur and came to Hyderabad. He was handed over to the Resident and tried. His capture, his subsequent trial and his tragic end have been narrated by Col. Meadows Taylor in his autobiography entitled *The Story of my Life*, an extract from which is given below[1]:—

"When that evil wind blew, the people came and said it was the time to rise. The English had lost everything in the north, and were beaten everywhere; they could not keep the country, they said, and were flying to England as fast as they could get to their ships. This was told me, Appa, by Brahmins and others from the south, from Poona, from everywhere.

" They promised by their incantations, to raise me to be Rajah of all the country—from Shorapur to Raineshwar—and if I marched at the head of my twelve thousand, they said, all the country would rise, and we should be conquerors.

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 313-314.

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Then Mahrattas from Poona, from Sattara, from Kolapoor, from Mungoond, from Bheem Rao, who had secured all the disaffected people of Raichore, persuaded me to join them, and offered me what I pleased if I did so; but still I did not go. I was still true to the English and to you. I knew I was right. I did not move a man; nor did I allow one of my people even to go to the assistance of the Beydurs of Huglully, their brethren, many of whom were slain. And then my people rebelled against me, and called me a 'coward and a fool', because I would not let them go. Arabs and Rohillas now came around me, and one man, worse than all the rest, swore to me on the Koran that the Arabs and Rohillas of Hyderabad, and all the Mussulmans, had declared a crusade against the English; that the Madras troops would not fight, and they would all come and join me if I would rise."

Raja Venkatappa Naik was tried and sentenced to death. The Resident commuted his sentence to transportation for life. This was further commuted by the Governor-General to imprisonment for four years in a fortress in the south. When the Raja was being escorted to the south "when they arrived (at the first camp) the officer took off his belt, in which was a loaded revolver, hung it over a chair and went outside the tent. While washing his face, a moment afterwards he heard a shot, and, running back, found the Rajah lying on the ground quite dead. The ball had entered his stomach and passed through the spine."[1]

Thus died Raja Venkatappa Naik of Shorapur. Unable to bear the indignities of his capture and his subsequent trial as also dreading the prospect of a long period of imprisonment, he put an end to his life at the earliest opportunity.

The trial of Raja Venkatappa Naik reveals the existence of a general plan of insurrection in the southern Maharatta country and the northern Karnatak country, the centres of which were Miraj, Kolhapur, Nargund, Kopbal, Raichur and Shorapur. General Jacob disarmed the rebels at Miraj, and checked the rising at Kolhapur. The Rajah of Nargund rose in revolt and killed Mr. Thomson, a civilian officer from Bombay. His rebellion was put down by the forces under Col. Malcolm on 2nd June 1858. The Rajah of Nargund was captured, tried and executed. He had

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 330-331.

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originally planned to raise the revolt during the rainy season, which would have made movements of troops difficult, but the early action of the British in putting down the Rajah of Shorapur on 8th February 1858 seems to have disorganized the plan of the Raja of Nargund. The result was that the Raja of Nargund and Bhim Rao Desai had to work separately. At a later date, the insurrection would have been formidable in the districts of Raichur, Gulberga and the northern parts of Karnatak if it had been carried out as planned.

After the death of the Raja of Shorapur a number of persons who had taken part in the fight were arrested and tried. A number of Arabs and Rohellas had joined the Raja. After the fight they dispersed in various directions. Among them one Tasdiq Hussain was taken to Shorapur, tried and hanged in the market-place of the town on 3rd July 1858. The State of Shorapur was later handed over to the Nizam's Government on 4th March, 1861.

That there was correspondence between the various chiefs and prominent persons in the north Karnatak and the principality of Shorapoor will be evident from the following note[1]:—

"Besides the Nargund, Mundergi, Hulgali and Jambotee revolts, there were several attempts at rebellion in different parts of the Bombay Karnatak from 1857-1858.

The Raja of Soorpur was said to be connected with the disturbances in many places during this period. The Soorpur country of the Nizam's territory borders on the Bijapur and Sholapur districts of the Bombay State. The name of the Bedar Raja of Soorpur was Venkappa Naik Balwant Bahri. It was suspected that he was under the active influence of emissaries from Nana Saheb. The Soorpur Raja's real grievance against the British Government was that the latter had taken possession of a portion of the Nawab's territory yielding a revenue of Rs. 52 lakhs and that the Nawab had made him pay Rs. 3 lakhs to supplement the tribute amount which the Nawab had agreed to pay to the British Government. The Raja of Soorpoor had even sent his brother-in-law Kothoo with some force to regain that territory but he could not succeed. Inwardly, therefore, he was bearing enmity towards the British.

1. From information supplied by the Bombay State Committee, History of Freedom Movement in India, Bombay.

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The Soorpur Raja had intrigued with the Deshmukh of Jumbgi in the Hipergi Taluka of the Bijapur district and they entered into a plot to overthrow the British power. The medium of communication between this Deshmukh and the Soorpur authorities was Gowdappa Patil of Gowar in the Soorpur country. Before their plans could materialise information of this contemplated insurrection was received early in January 1858 at the Sholapur Collectorate. Baslingappa for that was the name of the Deshmukh of Jumbgi, and Shirshetti, his associate, engaged men for the purpose of the revolt and collected large quantities of arms and ammunition. Baslingappa had also proclaimed the impending arrival of Nana Saheb Peshwa at Sholapur. The police raided the Deshmukh's residence at Jumbgi and his fort at Kotnal. The search disclosed the existence of arms and ammunition and also the arrangements devised for preparing gunpowder. Baslingappa, the Jumbgi chief, and his son were seized and tried for treason and their estates were confiscated. The Kotnal fort was also dismantled.

As fears were entertained that the Jagirdar of Jath was also likely to co-operate with the Raja of Soorpur, the Sholapur Magistrate had sent the Aden troops to guard the country between the Bheema and the Krishna rivers.

After a time, the people of Kalladgi rose against the British Government but Col. Malcolm and Lieut. Kerr speedily suppressed the rising.

The Raja of Soorpur had in 1857 sent an emissary named Mahipalsing-bin-Jawhersing to Belgaum to tamper with and seduce the 29th Regiment N.I. Before he could succeed in his mission, he was apprehended, while talking to a Jemadar, and executed on the sentence of a court-martial for inciting mutiny among the troops.

The Political Agent reported on February 8, 1858 that he had in confinement at Belgaum two persons named Chhotesing-bin-Heerasing and Laxman Parshad-bin-Ruddramani, as they were suspected of complicity in Mahipalsing's attempts during August 1857 to seduce the 29th Regiment, N. I. and in his other treasonable designs. The Political Agent stated that he had no evidence against these two persons but that he had no doubt that Chhotesing was concerned in it and that in concert with Laxman Parshad he

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was responsible for propagating a belief in the 29th Regiment that some of the leading Mahratha chiefs were ready to engage in their rebellion. The said Chhotesingh and Laxman Parshad were in the service of the Raja of Jamkhandi when they were arrested. They were then taken to Dharwar and kept under safe custody.

During 1857 the European troops at Belgaum were sent to the war-front in Persia. The breaking out of the rebellion in India found Belgaum garrisoned only by two native regiments and a small garrison of a European artillery unit.

Apart from Mahipalsing's activities there were other agencies, which were fomenting trouble. Belgaum was believed to be in considerable danger. There was fear that the native troops stationed here were in close touch with the native troops in Bombay. On August 10, 1857 the European reinforcement sent from Bombay reached Belgaum by way of Goa. Immediately General Lester seized a few of the civil and military conspirators in the native troops at Belgaum against whom there was enough evidence for trial. One of these was a Musalman *munshi*, a favourite of the native officers whom he had taught. He was found to be a disciple of the head of the Western India branch of the Wahabi sect. He had come from Poona and was an active agent of the Wahabis. Letters full of treasonable contents from this *munshi* to the regiments at Kolhapur and other stations were intercepted and thereby evidence was furnished against him. This only shows how widespread the conspiracy was and how the troops were being seduced. The *munshi's* activities were discovered by the betrayal of a police chief constable, a Christian convert, named Muttu Kumar, who afterwards received the grant of a village as a reward for his services.

The *munshi* and another emissary employed by a Wahabi chief to seduce the troops were found guilty of treason and were executed. Several members of the 29th Regiment were either executed or transported for life.

Thus the whole plot was crushed before it could gather strength and the danger passed away.

G. B. Seton Karr, the Political Agent at Belgaum, again reported to the Bombay Government on March 1, 1858 that a Brahmin named Aba Deodhar, who was in the

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employ of the Jamkhandi Raja, together with certain other sepoys, had maintained connections with the Raja of Soorpur for starting hostilities against the Government. To prevent further mischief he was put into custody in the Dharwar Jail.

The deposition of the *Mamlatdar* of Bijapur before Captain B. G. Parr, Assistant Magistrate, Bijapur, strengthened the suspicion that the Jamkhandi Chief was instrumental in the clandestine manufacture of gunpowder, etc. and that he was in treasonable association with the Soorpur Raja. He was, therefore, removed to the Belgaum fort and the Jamkhandi fort was occupied by a sizable force sent from Belgaum. Several charges were brought against this Chief. He was then transferred to the Vengurla Jail. At the time of his trial Chhotesing made a statement that all that was done at Jamkhandi and elsewhere to raise an insurrection against the Government, was done surreptitiously and without the knowledge and consent of the Raja Ramchandra Appasaheb and as the British Government could not adduce sufficient evidence to secure a conviction of the Raja of Jamkhandi, he was released and set at liberty. Chhotesing, however, was sentenced to be blown away from the mouth of a cannon."

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Chapter VI

THE RISINGS IN MULKHED AND KOPBAL

While trouble was brewing at Shorapur, the Zamindar of Mulkhed also rose in revolt. He was in league with the Raja of Shorapur and when the Nizam's army marched against him it was defeated with the loss of its captain. Mulkhed is a few miles from Shorapur and is situated in the district of Gulbarga. When the 2nd detachment was sent against the Zamindar of the place, the fort was surrendered and the Zamindar was brought as a prisoner in fetters to the capital in the month of March, 1858. Obviously due to the early steps taken against Shorapur, the chiefs of Mulkhed and Shorapur could not make a combination. The following contemporary accounts describe in brief the rebellion at Mulkhed and the subsequent results:—

(1)

"*Englishman,* February 23, 1858.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 10th instant:—

'In my letter to you written a few days ago I omitted to inform you that the Zamindar of Mulkare, a strong stone fort, has been for some time in arms against the Nizam's Government, and has defeated, killing the commander, a first detachment which was sent out against him. A second detachment has been sent, but I rather apprehend that it will be found necessary to employ Company's troops to reduce the place.

I am reminded to tell you of this by a report in circulation amongst the natives that this Zamindar has coalesced with the Raja of Shorapoor, but though it was not at all necessary to a person like this Zamindar, contending to obtain what he considered his rights from the Nizam's Government, to join in a general rebellion, it was to be expected, as he knew no better, that he would do so. If this report be correct, it will be our policy to punish the Zamindar in his character of rebel, with all possible expedition. I suppose after settling the affairs of Shorapoor the little army employed there may be sent against this place, if we cannot intermediately to that uncertain period employ other

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troops against it (the natives say it is situated three days' journey from Shorapoor, by which I understand 60 miles). Two detachments in the field at the same time would be useful, as if there should be necessity, they might act together.' "[1]

(2)

"*Englishman,* March 19, 1858.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 6th instant:—

'Mulkare, which I before informed you was holding out against the Nizam's troops, has capitulated at discretion, and the principal rebel, with two of his relations, is brought a prisoner in fetters to the capital. The Chaoos heading the Arabs of the garrison was killed, the soldiery composing it, Arabs, Rohillas, and all, were allowed to go away with the honours of war. This is the ordinary method of dealing with rebels here. Their Chiefs are alone looked to as responsible, and their soldiers sell them whenever it is convenient to procure safety for themselves.' "[2]

Outbreak at Kopbal

In the general scheme of insurrections which had been planned in the districts of Raichur, and Gulbarga and the Northern Karnatak, the name of Bhim Rao Desai figures prominently. Bhim Rao, the Deshmukh of Mundargi, along with the Desai of Hammigi, started insurrection in the district of Dharwad. The following extract is from the *Bombay Gazette* of 11th June, 1858:—

". . . . the death of two Dessayees of Hummagee and Mundargi seems to have followed very close upon their determination to rebel against us. They appear to have been well known for disaffection and for that reason to have been jealously watched as well by the officers of Bellary district as by those of the Dharwar Collectorate. Hummagee and Mundargee are both situated to the North of the Tungabhadra. Bhim Rao of Mundargi at one time Tahsildar of Bellary had been dismissed for misconduct. The immediate cause of the rebellion of these men was attempt made in the later end of May 1858 to carry out the disarming act in Hummagee and Munargee. Parties of police from Dharwar entered both places on 23-5-1858 and made a search which produced nothing as regards Bhim Rao, but led to the discovery of arms in Hummigi. The seizure of these arms was the signal for a rising of the people of both places

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 217.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 218-219.

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who were joined by the rebel of Gudug and Dumbal. At Gadag the post office and Electric Telegraph clerks had to fly for their lives and property to some amount was plundered. The Dessayees then marched eastwards with their men and occupied Kopbal in force. As soon as the news of these risings was known at Dharwar, Bellary and Sedashaghur troops were dispatched from each of these places. Those who left Bellary under Major Hughes had the good fortune to encounter the enemy. It was expected that the rebels would cross the Tungabhadra—Major Hughes marched quickly with 60 men of 5th light Cavalry, 80 men of Hll. 74th, 150 (men) of 47th Madras No. 9 and a detail of European Artillery to Hospet on 28-5-1855, crossed the Tungabhadra the same day and found the rebels on the 29th at Kopbal where an engagement took place. The rebels had shut themselves up in the fort which it became necessary to storm. This assault was led by Major Hughes in person and the result was the death of the two Dessayees, whose bodies were found among the slain, and the destruction of their followers."

Thus in less than a week this formidable commencement of rebellion was put down. A Telegraphic despatch from Bellary dated 2-6-1858 reported "The Kopbal fort was taken by assault by Major Hughes yesterday. Among the slain are Mundargee Bhim Rao and Hummigee Desai —No despatch yet received from Major Hughes, Ramandurg."

The *Bombay Gazette,* dated 21-6-1858, at page 583 states:—

"We learn from a letter from Nargund, dated the 12th instant that the force there under Col. Malcolm was expected to march back to Dharwar as soon as the fort was destroyed. The sappers were then busy mining it assisted by a number of men of the 74th Highlanders preparatory to the final blow up.

On 10-6-1858, 14 rebels were shot to death by the enfilade of the Highlanders by sentence of a Court-martial and on 12-6-1858 five more were shot in the same manner and one was blown away from a gun, 30 or 40 more were awaiting trial. S. M. Irregular was bringing them in daily from the districts whither they had fled for refuge but found it not".

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The *Bombay Gazette* continues[1]: "DIFFICULTY OF COL- that the Collector of Bellary is somewhat embarrassed by re- sistance offered to the collection of revenue, but no particu- lars are given ..... THE REVOLT OF BHEEMRAO—Bellary. The following I have been able to gather from the reports which have been made to Government by the Collector Mr. C. Pelly and the General Commanding the Division with reference to the insurrection in this part of the country which has been headed by Bhim Rao of Mundargi.

About a month ago the head of Police of Hoovinhu- dagaly reported to the Collector that it was rumoured that Bhim Rao was making a large collection of arms and that his object in doing this was evidently only to create a dis- turbance. The head of police was in reply instructed to keep a sharp lookout on the movements of Bhim Rao——On 26-5-1858 the head of police sent an express to the collector to Ramanadurg stating that Bhim Rao had made a decided demonstration of his hostile intention, as he had plundered some villages and was moving towards the river Tunga- bhadra. Subsequently information was received that Bhim Rao was in possession of a place called Commera Raman Cauta which is 6 miles from the river and opposite Hospet. At this time the principal native police officer at Kopbal having received intimation that Bhim Rao's wife and children were in that vicinity on their way to join him fol- lowed them and took them prisoners and with a body of men that he had succeeded in raising marched on to the place, the inhabitants of the town joining him."

Bhim Rao on learning what had taken place proceeded to Kopbal by different route and took possession of that place, the inhabitants of the town joining him."

The following is from *A History of the Hyderabad Con- tingent,* by R. G. Burton[2]:—

"On the 28th May, 1858, a movable column under Colonel Hughes consisting of the 74th Highlanders, some Madras troops and the 3rd Company Artillery and 4th In- fantry, Hyderabad Contingent, under Lieutenant Pedler, was ordered to proceed against the hill fort of Kopbaldurg, which had been seized and occupied by a body of four

1. *Op. cit.,* dated June 21, 1858, p. 584.
2. *Op. cit.,* p. 240.

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hundred rebels under Bhim Rao Desai from the Southern Maratha country. This fort, it is interesting to note, had been taken in 1819 by a force which included a portion of the Nizam's Contingent.

The place was stormed on the 1st June, when Bhim Rao and a hundred of his men were killed, and a hundred and fifty taken prisoners. The Contingent Cavalry rendered effective service in cutting off and preventing the escape of a body of the insurgents."

The following extracts are from *Hyderabad Affairs*[1]:—

(1)

"*Englishman,* June 19, 1858.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 6th June:—

'One Bhim Rao, a Zamindar of Dharwar, collected three hundred and fifty followers and got into Kopaldurg fort. The place was carried by a force under Major Hughes; Bheem Rao and two hundred of his men were killed, one hundred and fifty have been taken prisoners, and it is said will be executed. A Zamindar of Nurgoond, in the Southern Mahratta Country, murdered Mr. Manson, the Collector, and his small escort. He defended Nurgoond with a thousand men; the place was immediately carried by Colonel Malcolm, the Zamindar fled, but was overtaken, and made prisoner with six of his men. The Southern Mahratta Country is disaffected, and a desultory rising of the Zamindars is apprehended from the circumstance that they must suspect that their names, as having conspired to join the rebellion, have been disclosed by the Raja of Shorapoor. We are doing well, but we want more troops; we have too many points to guard.

The 42nd Regiment N.I., with three Horse Artillery guns, marched yesterday from Secunderabad for the frontiers on the Southern Mahratta Country, to co-operate if necessary, with the Bombay troops to preserve order there.'"

(2)

"*Englishman,* June 23, 1858.—The following is from Hyderabad, the 9th June:—

'You will have heard of the insurrection of one Bhim Rao, of his occupation of Kopauldroog, and of its recap-

1. *Op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 219.

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ture by a force under Major Hughes, and the rebel's death. You will also have heard of the insurrection of the Zamindar of Nurgoond, the murder by him of Mr. Manson and his small escort, and of his subsequent capture. But you probably may not have heard that these risings are a part of a large conspiracy, which had appointed the month of July for its combined movements, as the ground being then under water our troops would find a difficulty in acting against them. The rising piecemeal, as in the above two instances is imputed to the fears of the conspirators, who, conceiving that disclosures respecting their conspiracy had been made by the late Raja of Shorapoor, have been precipitated to take up arms prematurely as their only resource.'"

* * *

Thus ended the attempt of Bhim Rao Desai. The sudden capture of Kopbal by Bhim Rao was an act of daring but it appears that instead of moving out into the countryside, he shut himself up in the fort and thus got trapped. Writes Meadows Taylor about the insurrection of Bheem Rao:—

"Had the insurgent Bheem Rao confined himself to operations against villages he would have done much mischief, and roused the people, who seemed ripe for insurrection; but he got possession of Kopbaldroog by a stratagem, and found himself there in a trap. He could not hold so large a place, and his party betook themselves to the steps of the fort, where many, including the Rajah himself, were slain, and the rest were forced to surrender at discretion, for they had no food."

More details about the activities of Bhim Rao and the contacts he had with chiefs like the Raja of Anagundi Samsthan will be found in the following note[1]:—

"Bhim Rao, son of Ranga Rao Nadgowda of Mundargi in Dharwar district was serving as a Tahsildar at Bellary. He was afterwards dismissed from service for misconduct. Such treatment meted out to him roused the ire in him against the British Government.

He and the Desai of Sortur were great friends. Bhim Rao managed to make friends with Kenchangowda of Hammigi, the Desai of Dumbal and Sur Nadgowda of Govankop

1. From information supplied by the Bombay State Committee, History of Freedom Movement in India, Bombay.

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for treasonable ends. All these were disaffected against the British Government for reasons real or fancied. Under the influence of Bhim Rao and the Chief of Nargund a network of conspiracy was spread throughout Dharwar district.

Bhim Rao was resourceful and enterprising. His several ventures, however, lacked fixity of purpose and were rather ill-planned and sporadic.

All the Desais and Inamdars that had even a distant contact or correspondence with either Baba Saheb of Nargund or Bhim Rao Mundargi were under a sharp watch as suspects. Even the Hebli Jagirdar, who once happened to casually meet Bhim Rao on the banks of the Benne Nala and Balappa Jayenna, a rich Jain at Dharwar with whom Bhim Rao used to stay whenever he came there, were subjected to a strict watch.

Bhim Rao had a lot of influence in the Bellary district where he had worked as Tahsildar and in Kopbal territory of the Nizam as his wife Jeevabai belonged to the latter territory.

On 1-8-1857 intelligence of the mutiny on the part of the 27th N. I. Regiment the night before was received at Dharwar by wire. The same evening a telegraphic message from the Magistrate of Bellary was sent to the Dharwar Collector conveying the news that Bhim Rao, Ranga Rao (Mundargi), a Nadgowda of the district, had collected 300 or 400 men in the Dumbal taluq under pretence of constructing a tank and was conspiring against the British Government with the Desai of Sortoor.

Thomas Ogilvy, the Collector, immediately sent for these two persons. Bhim Rao who was shrewd and sagacious, at once arrived at Dharwar with Sortoor Desai and saw the Collector. Thus very scrupulously he observed all outward show of loyalty and tried to put on a lid over his treasonable activities until he could gather sufficient strength.

The Dharwar Collector was further unnerved to hear the news of such intended revolt in the district because he later received a letter dated 21-8-1857 from Mr. Kaufmann, a former Missionary at Dharwar, stating that he had learnt from a trustworthy native source that the Mahomedans and

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the Brahmins of the Deccan had combined to plan a revolution whereby the Mahrattas were to aid the king of Delhi in Hindustan to recover the throne of the Great Mughals and the Mahomedans were to aid Nanasaheb in the Deccan to regain the dominions of the Peshwa.

This made the Collector of Dharwar further tighten the watch on all suspected insurgents in the district and there was no evidence of Bhim Rao's activities during the subsequent period of about 8 months. He then shifted the scene of operations to the Bellary district.

From the reports made to Government in May 1858 by Mr. C. Pelly, the Collector of Bellary and the General Commanding the Division, with reference to the insurrection in that part of the country headed by Bhim Rao of Mundargi, it was learnt that much embarrassment was caused in the collection of revenue due to the resistance offered by the forces of insurrection. The Head of Police of Hoovinhudagaly had reported to the Collector that Bhim Rao was making a large collection of arms the object of which was to create a disturbance. The Head of Police was therefore instructed to keep a sharp lookout on the movements of Bhim Rao. About the last week of May 1858 the Bellary Collector who was camping at Ramanadurg received an express from the Police stating that Bhim Rao had made a decided demonstration of his hostile intentions as he plundered some villages and moved towards the Tungabhadra.

Meanwhile, as it was known that Bhim Rao Mundargi, Kenchangowda of Hammigi and the Desai of Sortoor had been concerting measures for a rising, the chief constable of Dumbal was ordered to search Kenchangowda's fortified enclosure at Hammigi, a village on the Tungabhadra. He found a large quantity of arms and warlike stores, sealed the house and set a guard over it and reported to headquarters.

On this, Bhim Rao, thinking further concealment useless, gathered a few men, attacked the guard, murdered the informant and taking the stores marched with Kenchangowda and attacked the treasury at Dumbal. More men joined the standard of Bhim Rao and the whole body dashed to Gadag where the Post Office and Electric Telegraph Office clerks had to fly for their lives, and property to some extent was plundered. As the police party was after them both the Desais marched eastwards and reached the neighbourhood of Kopbal. They camped at a village called Kumar-raman Kunta about 6 miles from the Tungabhadra river.

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At this time the principal native police officer at Kopbal, learning that Bhim Rao ..... were in that vicinity and on their way to join Bhim Rao, followed them and took them prisoners. Further, with a body of men that he had succeeded in assembling the police officer marched on to the place occupied by the rebels.

Bhim Rao on learning what had taken place proceeded to Kopbal by a different route and took possession of the fort. The inhabitants of the town welcomed him with open arms and joined him.

On knowing that a signal for a rising was given by Bhim Rao, troops from Dharwar, Bellary and Raichur were sent with great dispatch. Major Hughes from Bellary with his force arrived at Kopbal on 31-5-1858 in the evening and immediately proceeded to surround the fort and a brisk fire by musketry was opened which was responded to by the rebels for some time. Next morning a force under the command of Lieut. Pindar of the Hyderabad Contingent, who was accompanied by Lieut. Taylor, Assistant Commissioner of Raichur, also appeared on the scene.

Major Hughes sent a letter to Bhim Rao requesting him to allow the villagers and their families to evacuate the place and also requiring him to surrender giving him 3 hours' time for consideration. Bhim Rao simply refused to bend before the might of the enemy. As no reply was received, operations were commenced at noon on 1-6-1858 to storm the fort.

The Kopbal fort is an excessively strong one with double walls and a lofty citadel. Had the rebels been possessed of cannon, their expulsion would have proved no easy matter. Bhim Rao and the rebels, though a mere rabble, gave tough battle and from all accounts fought remarkably well till a breach was effected in the fort wall. Then came a cry of surrender when the brave Bhim Rao and Kenchangowda fell fighting between the gateways of the fort. Many of the rebels died fighting and 150 were taken prisoners. Some were supposed to have escaped.

Due to his simultaneous engagement, Bhim Rao could not send reinforcements to Babasaheb of Nargund. The Desai of Sortoor and Bhim Rao's Karkun Kallappa were deputed to convey the negative message.

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After the fall of Kopbal and Nargund the lands of the following Inamdars and Desayees were confiscated in consequence of rebellion:

1. Shriniwas Venkatadri (Desai of Dumbal).
2. Bhim Rao Rang Rao Nadgowda of Mundargi.
3. Kenchangowda Sirnagowda of Govenkop.
4. Bhaskar Rao Bhave, Chief of Nargund.

Bhim Rao's wives, Jeevabai and Venkubai and a minor son Rangarao and a female child were allowed to live at Bennehally and a monthly allowance was paid to them.

The fall of Nargund and Kopbal together with the death of the Desayees and the capture of Babasaheb were fatal blows to the spirit of rebellion in the Bombay Karnatak.

The prisoners were all tried and about 75 of them were blown away from the gun. Amongst the prisoners was one Bhimappa, the Gumashta of Mundargi Bhim Rao. On his offering to disclose the entire background of this revolt, the execution of the sentence in respect of this Gumashta was suspended and he was brought before Mr. R. N. Taylor, Deputy Commissioner of Raichur Doab, on 4-6-1858. In a declaration he made before Mr. Taylor the following important facts emerged:

1. When the Desai of Dumbal and Sortoor began collecting armed men in Dumbal taluqa, Bhim Rao started assembling people at Hospet, Kamlapur and other places near Humpi in the Bellary district.

2. Some 3 months prior to the Kopbal battle Bhim Rao had intrigued with the son of Burma Naik of Kopbal to take possession of that place by perfidious means.

3. Babasaheb the chief of Nargund was in correspondence with Nanasaheb Peshwa.

4. It was decided that the chiefs and Desayees were to rise simultaneously against the Government on 27-5-1858. The posts or forts which each party was to occupy was also settled. Babasaheb was to proceed towards Dharwar side and hold Nawalgund. Dumbal Desai was to loot Dumbal and Gadag. The Thorgal Raja was to create a disturbance on his side. Bhim Rao was to go with Kenchangowda and

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hold Kopbal. But the whole plan fizzled out as Bhim Rao and Kenchangowda were rather forced to rise in arms earlier on 24-5-1858. They proceeded to Dumbal but in view of the Desai's absence there, they had to camp at Kowroor on the other side of the Nalla during the night.

5. Bhim Rao reached Kumara-raman-kunta on 26-5-1858. Here one Kenchappa Muddi of Shivapur promised him to collect a body of armed men. Subsequently Bhim Rao sent a person of Butpunhally to Kopbal Burma Naik and got a hopeful message from the latter.

6. Bhim Rao had sent from Bennehally, his usual place of residence, Karkun Narahari to the Raja of Anegundi some 3 months back requesting him to join in the concerted plan. The Raja had agreed to do so. From Kumar-raman-kunta, therefore, the above mentioned Karkun Narahari was again sent to the Anegundi Raja, so that the Raja might soon come with a force and join him. The Raja sent a Jemadar with the message that if Kopbal was occupied they would have joined. The Jemadar further stated that the Muslims of Gangawathy town were tapped successfully and that if Bhim Rao were to first go to Gangawathy the Raja's forces also would join him there and later all could proceed to Kopbal. Bhim Rao agreed to do so, but on second thought he changed his course, because his two wives, a minor son and daughter were at Kopbal and he had received a hopeful message from there. He went straight to Kopbal where Modeen Naik and others had offered to help him.

7. Sowar Busappa who was sent by the Nargund chief had said to Bhim Rao that the Jemadar of the Rissalah at Dharwar and the Sowars of Belgaum and Kalladgi had intrigued with the Raja of Nargund.

8. With the intention of getting Hospet, Kamlapur and other places to join his standard, Bhim Rao had sent for the Fakeer, who remained in a Thakeeah at Hospet, and had given him Rs. 500."

With the death of Bhim Rao Desai and the execution of his accomplices the insurrection in the district of Raichur ended. Many are the tales which have gathered round the heroic exploits of Bhim Rao Desai. A ballad still current in Kopbal describes the activities of Bhim Rao, a summary of which is given in the appendix to this chapter.

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Appendix to Chapter VI

A brief summary of the Kannada ballad narrating the revolt of Mundargi Bheem Rao

This poem opens with a full appreciation of the valour of Taylor Sahib (popularly known as the Company Sardar) who after his proclamation made at about twelve noon killed the Raja Bheem Rao. The Company besieged several big fortresses and held captive many a prince. Despite the knowledge of the fact that the Company would spare the life of none, not excepting even the lives of those princes who were well-noted for their righteous regime, the Desai of Hummige did not act sagaciously in venturing to revolt against the Company. It was also contained in the proclamation of the Company that if men in possession of arms and ammunitions failed to surrender the whole material to the said Company, they would be severely dealt with. The Company was of course partially crowned with success in its efforts at the recovery of arms and ammunition from those who possessed them. The village head-man who had, in obedience to the proclamation above, collected information of those who had a large stock of arms and ammunitions furnished the same. The information reached Dharwar. This led to the arrival of a large number of horsemen. The police too arrived and made enquiries as to the whereabouts of the Desai and asked the village head-man to lead them to the possessors of arms and ammunitions as mentioned in his report. The Desai on receipt of information of the arrival of the police and the horsemen foresaw danger to his life and with a white face fled to tell Mundargi Bheem Rao at Bennihalli of all that had taken place. After hearing the sad story from the Desai of Hummige, Mundargi Bheem Rao cheered him up, promising him his full and unstinted support. He gathered all his soldiers and mounted a horse to march to Hummegipur. No sooner did he enter Hummegipur than he turned his attention towards the poor village chief who had caused the arrival of the cavalry belonging to the East India Company. The village chief's nose and ears were chopped off. The horsemen who had come to disarm the village on hearing the name of Bheem Rao refrained from doing so. Dambal and Haruvgere were raided by Bheem Rao. He marched on Kolure at night surreptitiously

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and extended his raid to Kumut where he made up his mind to stay quietly for some time. People residing at the above places were terror-stricken. These incidents caused a stir in the Lingusgur Cantonment. Before long Bheem Rao's two wives were arrested and were interned in the fort of Kopbal in the *Kalayukta Samvatsara* of the Hindu almanac. When Bheem Rao learnt of the arrest of his two wives he left Kumut at night and by forced marches reached the Kopbal fort by dawn. On arrival, he forced an entry into the Kopbal fort and met his wives and children. He succeeded in his attempt in tipping all the sentinels posted at the fort. The Subedar wrote to the Sardar about the arrival of Bheem Rao at Kopbal. The Sardar, with a force one thousand strong belonging to the Lingusgur Cantonment arrived on the scene to meet the rebel face to face.

A fierce battle ensued between the Sardar and Bheem Rao. The latter courageously fought with the former. The Sardar stormed the fort and razed it to the ground. The destruction of the fort damped the courage of both Bheem Rao and the Desai of Hummige. A great many dauntless warriors were killed on the last day of the battle at the Balbhavi fort. This spectacle of the battle could be compared well with that which took place between Karna and Arjuna. Before meeting his doom at the hands of the Sardar, Bheem Rao expressed to the Desai, his comrade, that a single day's respite would have enabled him to receive adequate reinforcements from his native village. But that was not to be. The Desai and Bheem Rao could not escape their fate. In the battle both Bheem Rao and the Desai were slain. Taylor Sahib ordered their corpses to be exhibited at Gavimath. The people of Kopbal and of the surrounding villages saw them and returned home, their eyes filled with tears.

On seeing the dead body of their husband, both wives of Bheem Rao wept bitterly. They could not believe their eyes when they actually saw the dead body because of their firm conviction that a good and benevolent man like him could not have been slain in that ruthless way.

Taylor Sahib did not lose time in arresting all those who were suspected of complicity in the revolt. He seized their estates, got them handcuffed and kept them starving for several days.

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The mother of Rang Rao suddenly fell down to the ground at the sad and heart-rending news of the death of Bheem Rao Mundargi, which came to her as a shock.

The poem then concludes with the likening of this tragedy to that of the valiant youth Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna, who bravely entered the *Vyuha* from which he could not get out and died fighting, hemmed in on all sides by a host of enemies.

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Chapter VII

THE ROHILLA REBELLIONS IN THE NORTH OF THE STATE

While the insurrections of the Raja of Shorapoor and Bheem Rao Desai were being put down, a new development was taking place in the Deccan. This was the insurrections of the Rohellas and other elements. These synchronized with the events happening in Northern India. The Peshwa Nana Saheb had early risen against the British at Cawnpore. In his activities he was helped by his two cousins Bala Saheb and Rao Saheb. The latter Rao Saheb was also Nana Saheb's nephew by adoption. The army of the Marathas was placed under the command of Tatya Tope, whose name has gone down in history as the last great Maratha general, who made the maximum use of guerilla tactics and kept the British busy for more than a year. Tatya Tope won notable victories against the British at Cawnpore but with the arrival of further reinforcements of the British he had to fall back upon Kalpi. Nana Saheb and Bala Saheb left Cawnpore and, after fighting the British, crossed over into Nepal where they died subsequently. The forces of Tatya Tope and Rao Saheb were concentrated at Kalpi, when the Rani Laxmi Bai of Jhansi sent urgent requests for assistance in her fight against the British forces besieging Jhansi. Tatya Tope marched against the British but was defeated and had to return to Kalpi. The Rani Laxmi Bai left Jhansi and after a forced march joined Tatya Tope and Rao Saheb at Kalpi. On being defeated by the British at Kalpi, the three joined and marched on Gwalior which they captured by the end of May, 1858. The British hurried to Gwalior where the Rani of Jhansi died fighting heroically against them on the 10th of June 1858. Tatya Tope and Rao Saheb then conducted their operations in Central India, where they harassed the British forces for nearly ten months. They were trying to establish contacts in the Deccan with a view to organize a plan of insurrection in this part of the country. A number of soldiers disbanded from military service in the North, mainly Rohellas, infiltrated into the Deccan. They were soon joined by the disaffected elements in the Deccan. The result was that Rohella concentrations took place at Ajanta, Basmat, Latur, Makhtal and Nirmal. The Contingent Troops marched against them and it was not before the lapse of two years that these insurrections of the

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Rohellas were put down. The emissaries of Tatya Tope and Rao Saheb were working continuously in various parts of the Deccan. The following extracts give a graphic description of these incidents:—

(1)

"*Englishman,* December 23, 1858:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 19th December:—

'When Tantia Topee crossed the Nerbudda, intelligence of his passage over the river reached the city almost as soon as it reached us, of which we were advertised by a placard being fixed in mosque inviting people to join him. Adil Mahomed Khan, a Mussulman leader who separated himself from Tantia Tope with his followers, men of his own sect, when Tantia took his course westward, has now crossed the Nerbudda, and is with a band of five hundred men at Mooltaye. The intelligence was received here by the natives almost simultaneously with ourselves. And a second placard has been posted inviting men-at-arms to join his on the Nerbudda. It is plain from the quick passage of intelligence from the hostile camps to their confederates in the city that it must come by a quick post kept up by a long confederated line along the country. It is melancholy to think that a confederation can subsist, and has subsisted so long, securely, and that the Government officers presiding over districts are destitute of intelligence in matters where their utmost vigilance should be exercised, or, what is more probable, not to say worse, are careless of doing us service.'"[1]

(2)

"*Englishman,* December 23, 1858:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 19th December:—

'The 47th Regiment N. I. forming part of the Bellary column, which came here lately, marched this morning with two guns for Nirmal, about which the Rohillas are marauding and have beaten the Nizam's troops. The detachment from the Subsidiary Force under Colonel Roberts which marched some time back is posted at Hingolee.'"[2]

(3)

"*Englishman,* December 30, 1858:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 15th December:—

'The Rohillas have been long plundering the country, which I suppose must primarily be ascribed to our want of

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 224.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 225.

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cavalry, the Rissalas of the Hyderabad Contingent being in the field to put them down. I hear today that they have two well-dressed Brahmins with them, who are said to command them, and to be the agents of Tantia Topee. This opinion is by no means conclusive of the fact, if the Rohillas were acting as rebels they would not confine themselves to plunder, but would burn and destroy all within their reach; and, in the next place, they have refrained, as before, from committing aggression on the assigned districts, just as much denuded of troops as the other parts of the Nizam's country, which Tantia's agents would certainly have led them to do. It is just possible that the Rohillas do not care to meddle with English affairs, lest it should lead to a more active pursuit of them, and shut the doors of the city upon them, to which on being dispersed they might, as before, resort for asylum, and remain there unquestioned and unharmed. If they be engaged by Tantia's agents, which I doubt, they have a commanding voice in the management of their affairs. This, however, was not to be doubted; it could not be otherwise.' "[1]

The Rohillas also attacked Nilanga now in the Bidar district, which then formed part of the district assigned to the British. Many a sanguinary engagement with the Rohellas took place at Ajanta in the Aurangabad district and at Basmath in the Parbhani district. The following extracts throw light on the British campaigns against the Rohellas:—

(4)

"*Englishman,* January, 24, 1859:—The following is from Hyderabad dated 11th instant:—

Extracts of letter from the North-West frontier, dated 11th January, 1859.

'Sir Hugh Rose, moved out towards Ajanta and drove off the plundering Rohillas, but not till they had played the mischief with Ajanta, sacked it, and burnt it. This Rohilla band is the same which has for twelve months looted fully twenty large villages, killing and wounding people, violating women, and setting the Nizam's troops at defiance. They have issued a paper in shape of a letter to be forwarded to Hyderabad: the purport is that they are the servants of Nana

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 225.

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Sahib, and as the Sooba of Aurangabad has imprisoned three of their brethren, and the Nizam has allied himself with the British, they will destroy his country.' "[1]

(5)

"*Extract of a letter from Hingolee, dated 16th January* 1859.

'A Sarnee sowar has just come in from Brigadier Hill's camp. He writes on the 15th:—'We have had a long action today, seventeen hours in the saddle. The Arabs and Rohillas have gone into a guree, which we are watching. I fear Captain M'Kinnon is mortally wounded; Captain Hoseason shot through the shoulder; Captain Swete, H.A., through the thigh (ball still in); Captain Clogstoune, contusion; Captain Ivie Campbell plundered of everything he had at Kissore, and only escaped with his life.

I have just obtained the following authentic intelligence about the affair with the Rohillas. Captain Clogstoune cut up thirty or forty Arabs and Rohillas that had plundered Kissore, the rest took possession of a turret in the village. Howitzers and mortars were not used. The officers mentioned above suffered as above described, four or five sepoys killed, and as many wounded. Colonel Hill has invested the village closely, and little doubt is entertained of the annihilation of these marauders if they do not contrive to escape. Sir Hugh Rose's force is near at hand, Colonel Roberts with his detachment not far off, and some of the 21st on their way.

Toorabaz Khan, the leader of the insurrection of the 17th July 1857, has escaped from his prison. This was to be expected; there was general sympathy with him, of which I presume his guards partook. We owe this to the moulvies, who found that by their laws his crime did not admit of his being sentenced to death. This I take to be about as bad as any of the bad news I am giving you.

There has been an insurrection in the jail at Aurangabad; prisoners escaped; eight Rohillas got clean off. Some of the others were captured and fifty or sixty killed."[2]

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1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 226.
2. *Ibid.*

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(6)

"*Englishman,* February 2, 1859:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 25th January:—

'On the 19th instant I informed you that Brigadier Hill had closely invested a turret in which the Rohillas beaten by him on the 15th instant had taken shelter. The Rohillas seemed to think it best to endeavour to get through the besiegers before their guns were up. They made a sally at night, were attacked by the besieging party, they fought with desperation, and it was long before their ranks were broken. They at length fled, losing a hundred men dead on the field. Our loss is seven men killed and thirteen wounded. This body is a detachment from a large body of Rohillas overrunning the country. It is commanded by an Arab and has Arabs in its ranks. This is a new feature. The Arabs have not before appeared as plunderers in the Nizam's territories. A body of seven hundred Rohillas was within fifteen miles of the place where the affair above described took place. Sir Hugh Rose's force and Colonel Robert's and Colonel Hill's are all moving upon these. I do not know the direction in which they are moving, but I have good hopes that some one of these forces will give us a good account of them'."[1]

(7)

"*Englishman,* February 4, 1859:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 22nd January:—

'I hear that Colonel Hill is to blow up Buswunt and other places which harboured the Rohellas and Arabs concerned in the late fight with him. Unless it be understood that all places harbouring Rohilla depredators will be equally destroyed this measure will be inadequate to produce the desired effect. It will bring quiet for a time, but after a period, if marauding excursions be not renewed by large armed bodies, we shall have, as their substitute, highway Robin Hood robberies and dacoities. The suppression of disorder can only be effected by punishing those who give shelter to the malefactors, and are unquestionably *particeps criminis.* I shall be glad to see the day when it may be

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 226-227.

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thought proper to inflict punishment upon the Naibs and Zamindars protecting these marauders, and of fines being levied on districts where robberies on the highroads by armed bands may be committed. It should be carefully provided that these fines, or any other punishment which may be substituted for them, fall especially upon the Naibs, and in sequence to them upon the village authorities, whether hereditary or the employees of Government. A general disorganization of a Government based upon the demoralization of a people can only be remedied by laws which, though they may at times inflict injury upon the unoffending, can alone serve, by acting upon the fears of the community, to procure that assistance for the Government which loyalty or right morals will not otherwise bring to it.' "[1]

* * *

After the Rohellas concentrated in the Basmath taluq were dispersed, the Jagirdar of Javla, who was one Peerzada, was arrested for having given asylum to the Rohellas, and was sentenced to imprisonment of 2 years. The following correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office of the Hyderabad Government throws light on the activities of the Rohellas in the district of Parbhani and the part which the Jagirdar of Javla played in the insurrection:—

(Translation of) Mr. Alrawis's letter addressed to Mr. Black, dated November 19, 1858

"1. Danger is imminent here due to the presence of the Rohillas in the neighbourhood of this place because within a short period, many Rohillas have come here from the adjoining places. I am sending you a detailed memorandum which, if you deem it necessary, may be brought to the notice of His Excellency.

2. About two or three weeks ago, when I was going to Mukhed, I came to know that large bodies of Rohillas were on their way to Jinthur, south of the Narsi taluq. Many of the wealthy people and businessmen of the village are going to Narsi.

3. The Rohillas are camping at a distance of twenty miles from Javla or its adjoining village, Gangakhed. It was learnt that Gangakhed and other places had been looted.

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. III, pp. 227-228.

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For some time, the Rohillas did not go anywhere from Javla. Javla is a jagir-village well-known for the supply of Rohillas. Whenever the Rohillas visit the place, they stay there as guests of the jagirdar. They have devastated the village and stayed there often. This is a well-known fact and probably you too may be aware of it.

4. From Javla, the Rohillas have gone to Sundrastha, which is sixteen miles to the south of this place and from there they have proceeded further. They intend going to Hingoli which is a jagir village. Even though it cannot be said for certainty that they have gone there for plunder, yet the general impression is that their intention is nothing different. Small groups of the Rohillas were seen round about the village and when they were prevented from proceeding further, they ran away. It was thus proved that they were spies. When a rich man despatched certain necessary dak from Sunderasta, the Rohillas made up their mind to invade the village. Owing to terror thus created, the shops were kept closed and some people sent their wives and children to taluqa Narsi and to other places. Their opinion is that there is peace in the British territory. There are about six hundred Rohillas in Sundarasta including the cavalry which is a hundred strong.

5. When they came to know that countless persons had been employed for finding them out and also that the first Cavalry had already marched to check them, they proceeded towards Mahore. It is understood that they have established a camp in the Sasakonda forest on the banks of the Painganga. There is absolutely no doubt that the Rohillas of Joola and Sundarastha are living here.

6. On the rock facing the Balaji Temple a letter was found pasted. It was pasted there on behalf of the Risaldar of the Rohillas. Through the said letter, the Poojari of the temple was asked to provide them with Rs. 2,000 needed by them from the Temple jagirs. I am sending you a copy of its translation, the original letter having been sent to Lt. Null. He said that a forged reply be pasted there so that the result might be known. But so far no information about the result has been received.

7. The Sahukars of this place are still terror-stricken. They are transferring their capital to other places.

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8. I have learnt that the Rohillas have not yet entered the occupied taluqas. It is their opinion that they should not go there because, according to them, the Jagir villages are quite enough. So they don't intend invading other villages. They have not yet come to the occupied taluqas. You will be informed of what may happen on the borders."

(Translation of) the Resident's letter No. 118, *dated January* 28, 1859.

"1. Copies of Mr. Black's letter dated January 19 and Brigadier Hill's order have been sent for your perusal. From them it will be clear to you that Brigadier Hill has been ordered to extend military aid, if a necessity arises, to the Deputies of Jathore, Joola and Bamathi and also to arrest the Peerzada of Joola. He has been asked also to dismantle the fort and collect the (local) forces so that victory may be achieved at Khadle and peace restored in Jalna, Gangakhed and Hingoli.

2. The Deputies of Joola, Dasa and Navgaon, Jathur and Bamathi may be immediately sent for taking their explanations and for being reprimanded for having provided refuge to seditious persons. In the meantime, their Jagirs may be confiscated.

3. In keeping with the tenth and eleventh paras of Mr. Black's letter, security for good conduct be demanded from the Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas and let the Arabs and the Rohillas in their service be dismissed. In case the Deshmukhs and Deshpandyas don't do so, let their Watans be confiscated.

4. Let immediate attention be paid to para 15 of the letter referred to above from which it will be clear to you that Islam Ba Fiqre Chaus (the Arab Jamedar) has left Hyderabad to create disturbances in the State and is helping the traitors of the Deccan.

5. A person belonging to Omar-bin-Aewaz's territory has brought a large number of persons from Basmatnagar to create disturbance and he has stayed for two days at Nageshwaram.

6. These two places are in the Jagir of Omar-bin-Aewaz and orders were issued by Brigadier Hill to bring down the

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walls of their forts. It is desired of you that Omar-bin-Aewaz's jagir be confiscated and his explanation be called for."

(Translation of) Major Bruck's letter dated January 26, 1859 addressed to Brigadier Hill.

"1. I am in receipt of His Excellency's orders to inform you that, as requested by the Nizam's Government, the Jagirdars of Jathur, Joola, Bamathi, Dasa and Bhoganoon have been called to Hyderabad and an inquiry is being instituted into their having provided refuge to the Rohillas.

2. Whenever you are asked for help, troops may immediately be sent by you.

3. The Pirzada of Joola has been asked to present himself at Hyderabad. If he is still found in his jagir, you may arrest him.

4. His Excellency orders that you should take over the forts of Basmatnagar, Nakaswadi and Athola from the respective Jagirdars and should yourself arrange for their demolition.

5. You should also arrange for the demolition of all those forts in which the Rohillas may take refuge.

6. If you come to know that the Jagirdars of Jathur, Bhoganoon, Bamathi, Dagaon and Joola are hand in glove with the Rohillas, you are ordered to demolish the forts at these places.

7. As proposed by the officiating Commissioner, sufficient troops be sent to conquer Khadle, Shamgaon and Lothiar so that the southern and the western zones may be defended.

8. You must know that the army will be maintained as long as there is disturbance prevailing in the country.

9. His Excellency orders that you should not withdraw the forces from your headquarters, but you should have them posted at Jalna, Gangakhed and Hingoli. If

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and when any report reaches you that the Rohillas have gathered at the places referred to above or at other places, let the troops be immediately despatched to such places.

10. You are ordered to ask Col. Rabrush not to go to Jalna if he is out with his army now."

(*Translation of*) *Mr. Black's letter dated January* 19, 1859, *addressed to Captain Nornel*

"1. I am hereby informing you that soon after information had been received from Karim Khan, Darogha of Narsi, troops under Brigadier Hill were sent to Karvi village, two miles away from Athole village, below the small hillock close to you, to arrest the Rohillas. It was learnt that, before we reached there, they had left the place during the night. It is not known where they went. But now information has been received that they went towards Jathur. Spies have been sent in all directions and Brigadier Hill is waiting for their reports.

2. However, you must know from me that the large number of plunderers that had assembled are still not scattered. The people say that the Rohillas of Karvi were 500 in number and it is becoming clear that they numbered between 50 and 125. The reason for the swelling number of the Rohillas and the Arabs was that a number of goondas from among the public joined them. The Rohillas have been here for the last six or eight months.

3. It is extremely necessary that the Rohillas and the Arabs, as many as they are, are driven out. They are living in Dasi, Bhoganoon, Jathur, Bamthi, Wajar, etc., and also in other places. They must be driven out from these places. The troops should attack them when they are found in a relaxed state. When, on enquiry it is learnt that there are not many Rohillas at these places, they should be attacked by the troops under Mr. Horoze, Brigadier Hill and Col. Right.

But I think, for Fateh Khadla, Lothiar, Shamgaon and Aunda, the British contingent forces will shortly be posted on the western borders.

Now many of the people are afraid of Barahni. The troops referred to above should be aware of one another's position,

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4. I say that His Excellency is aware that a majority of the goondas and the mutinous army-men have been residing at Sandkhed—17 miles from Jalna, Bhoganoon, Dasa, Hingoli, Narsi and Basim shown in the larger map as Barahni.

5. You are probably aware that some ill-wishers have either sent these Rohillas to your place from Hyderabad or have encouraged the traitors of India to go there.

6. I think that the Rohillas have been instructed to create disturbances in this country. These disturbances have increased ever since we came to know of Tantya Topi. You have saved the villages from being destroyed by your sagacity and statesmanship.

7. In many of the jagir villages and in a few of the Khalsa villages, on the British border, loot and murder have taken place. This proves that they (the Rohillas) have been misled. For this reason, their oppression and atrocities have gradually increased and they have grown all the more insolent and intrepid. In my opinion, they have been misled by Khwaja Ali or Jaji Ali and Islam Ba Fiqra.

8. I cannot say whether the Rohillas are intentionally indulging in loot and plunder or they feel encouraged on account of the general disturbance in the country. I shall say something about the Arabs in the lines below:—

9. A copy of the notice pasted in the Jalgaon village is being sent. In this notice, the Rohillas have said that they are Nana Saheb's employees. They have done so probably because they are residing in the Maratha parts.

10. I deem it necessary that the watandars and Zamindars, *i.e.*, the Deshmukhs and the Deshpandes should be instructed to discharge their Government duties carefully and cautiously.

11. They must be asked to give security for their good conduct and also to dismiss every Rohilla and Arab in their employ. They must be told that, in case they fail to do so, their watans will be confiscated. It must also be made clear to them that, whosoever will be found rebellious, will be put down by the British army and that he will be punished for treason.

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12. The people say that the Rohillas who are living in Joola, Dasa, Jathoor, Bamathi and other places have added to their number by calling in other Rohillas and have also stirred up goondas in the country. They have thus created terror and danger in all the districts and the surrounding places.

13. It is deemed proper that all the forts in these parts be demolished, which is necessary both as a precautionary measure and as a proof of indignation, because, on account of the walls of these forts, many of our men are killed.

14. It is clear that there are Rohillas in Jathoor, Bhoganoon, Dasa and other places on the plains and also in the hilly region. The property looted during the last six months is being sold at a cheap price. From this, it is evident that, if the concerned Ilaqadars had adopted necessary measures, this would not have happened. If they were not in a position to do so, the British Government could have done so. All the villages should be heavily fined so that no refuge might be provided to the Rohillas.

15. From the statements of the two prisoners one of whom has sustained serious injuries I understand that there are about five hundred Arabs and Rohillas in Joola, the Deccanies being in addition to them. Most of them have come from Basmathnagar which is included in the salary-jagir of the Arab Jamedar, Omar Bin Aewaz. Joola is a jagir of Janumian Faqir. The people say that Janumian Faqir is from the family of the Nizam's preceptors. According to them Islam Ba Fiqra is an employee of Janumian Faqir and also of Omar Bin Aewaz. There is a leading Arab Chaus also in Rasod. All the Rohillas were fed by Islam Ba Fiqra and they are staying at the Faqir's Dargha. It is also said that, besides feeding them " Pāgdies " were tied to the leaders of the Rohillas before they left for loot and plunder. After this, the Rohillas stayed for two days at Yakshola which is Omer Bin Aewaz's fort. From there they attacked Rasod. The prisoners also state that before the Rohillas went away, there was a widely current rumour that the villages of the British would be looted when they were at a certain place from Rasod. It was not announced that the British district of Vasanthivanyani would be attacked. I am sorry to say that Capt. Canal did not deem it necessary to keep me informed of it in spite of the fact that he was just near us. But the fact came to be known that the Arabs had

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attacked the Government police besides looting everything of him and murdering a person. Others were injured and even when he was going on horseback he was shot at.

16. From this it is evident that they had intentionally attacked the British district. It must have had its beginning from here only and it is not possible that the Arabs did not participate in the disturbances in the Nizam's Dominions.

17. I am of the opinion that Faqir will surrender himself and that the forts of Basmathnagar and Nakwadi will be razed to the ground. I have reported everything about this case to Brigadier Hill because there is no army in these forts and there is no disturbance here. The Faqir jagirdar will not abscond. But he will deny the facts. Thus this case has been left entirely to His Excellency so that he may do anything he pleases.

18. If the British spies report that there would be no more traitors here, I will proceed to Jalna under intimation to Brigadier Hill leaving behind Mr. Bahmanji Jamasabji for assistance to the army.

19. I have instructed him to appoint ten peons because the amount in the pay bills for expenditure is huge and also because the Patels will not help us in any way. One more reason is that, by the time the dak reaches this place from the cantonment, some money may be needed on the way for expenses of the staff.

20. Mr. Bahmanji Jamasabji has been on the post ever since Brigadier Hill joined the camp. It has become clear to me that he is an intelligent and a willing worker.

21. Kamdar Ahtoli is either a Rohilla or an Afghani, who is a prisoner from the North. It is learnt that the Rohillas who were to attack Rasod were fed and for the second time also when they were in the adjoining places their needs were attended to. Not even the person referred to above informed me of this. This district has been notorious for highway robbery for the last forty years. The ex-Patel once rebelled against the Government.

22. Kesora situated at the foot of the mountain could not be seen.

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23. The military has since gone to Bhoganoon and has arrested some people with the help of the hints given by the local Deshmukh, who had joined hands with the Rohillas in loot and plunder."

* * *

From the files preserved in the Central Records Office it is apparent that Syed Ghulam Hussain alias Mastan Miya, Jagirdar of Javla, had given shelter to the Arabs and Rohillas. He was arrested along with his brother Ghulam Mohsain by a military officer. Orders were issued for the demolition of the fortress of Basmath. Along with Ghulam Hussain alias Mastan Miya, his 4 sons, 24 Arabs, 20 other persons and the landlords (Deshpandes) were also arrested and tried. The leader of the Arabs Ba Faqira was also arrested. The following correspondence throws light on this case:—

(1)

"*Military Secretary's Office, Hyderabad Residency,*
28th January, 1859.

To

Brigadier Hill,

Comdt., Hyderabad Government.

Sir,

I am directed by the Resident to apprise you that the Nizam's Government has been requested to call down to Hyderabad to answer for their conduct the local authorities of Jintoor, Jowlah, Bahmuny, Wassa, and Bogauun, for covertly aiding and protecting the Rohillas during the late disturbances.

2. In the event of your being called upon you will afford assistance and compel their obedience.

3. The Peer Zadah of Jowlah has already been directed by the Minister to proceed to Hyderabad but should he still be at his village you will arrest him at once.

4. The Resident directs you will require the authorities of the Forts of Bussmuthnugger, Sagismarry and Ittolah to surrender them, and then take measures to breach and destroy them.

5. In all these Forts the Rohillas have obtained refuge.

6. Should you be possessed with positive information that the authorities at Wassah, Jintoor, Bogauun,

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Bahmunny, Wassa and Jowlah are implicated, you are authorized likewise to destroy their Ghurries.

7. In accordance with the requisition made by the Office of the First Commissioner of the Assigned Districts you will be so good as to furnish Detachments at Tutta Kurlah, Shamgaon, Loonar, and Qundah for the protection of the south-west frontier of the Assigned Districts.

8. You will however understand that these Detachments are only temporary, and to be maintained only so long as the country remains in a disturbed state.

9. The Resident desires that you will not break up your Force for the present but remain in the Districts about Jaulnah, Gungakheir, and Hingolee, understanding, however, you are to proceed elsewhere, should you obtain authentic intelligence of the Rohillas or other marauders in the Nizam's Territory having assembled in force in other parts of the country.

10. I am directed to apprise you that Colonel Roberts with the Troops under his Command has likewise been required to keep the field, and not for the present to go into quarters to Jaulnah.

I have the honour, etc.
(Sd.) Major
Military Secretary."

(2)

" From

T. A. Bullock Esquire,
Deputy Commandant-in-charge,
Government Office.

To

Captain A. R. Thornhill,
Joint Assistant Resident,
Hyderabad.

D/Camp, Uttoolee, 19 January, 1859.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that on information received from the Darogah of Ninlee, Kareem Khan, the

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force under Brigadier Hill marched to Uttolee yesterday and arrived at Kurderee, a small hamlet lying upon a hill, 2 miles from Uttoolee. This body of Rohillas had been at the place indicated, and had received supplies from Uttoolee the evening before we arrived, but had again moved off, and in what direction is uncertain, but to the best of the information now available, the Rohillas may be about Jintoor; scouts are out in every direction, and Brigadier Hill is prepared to move at a moment's notice.

2. It appears to me, however, that the great body of marauders is broken up, and dispersed; the number at Kurderee was said to be 300. At this place they state the number from 50 to 125. The fact is the clans of the Rohillas and the Arabs had been increased by a large number of the ryots of Budmarhee in which place the Rohillas have been located for the last 6 or 8 months, and these men have now dispersed into their villages.

3. It is very desirable that the Rohillas and the Arabs, in whatever number, should be entirely rooted out from this part of the country; they have refuge at Wassa, Bogauun, Jintoor, Baminy, Wijjur and other places of smaller role; it can only be done by sending Detachments, when they are less on their guard than at present, and all that now seems necessary is, to ascertain positively that no large number is assembled at any given place. Then the main body of Troops under Sir Hugh Ross, G.C.B., and Brigadier Hill and Colonel Roberts, now in the Barahuttee country might safely be withdrawn. But I think for a time that pretty strong posts should be established at Futtehhelda, Lonar, Themgaon, and Oundah, to watch our Western Frontier, and to keep in check the refractory classes including most of the population of the Barahuttee country, and that these posts should communicate with each other.

4. I dare say the Resident is aware that commencing about Sindkhair, ... down to Bogauun and Wassa, and extending towards Hingolee, including Narsee, and part of Bassim, Loonar, Theoly, Baminy and all the strong country, marked on the large Maps, is called the Barahuttee. The Patels, ... are chiefly .....from time immemorial, have been predatory and refractory.

5. It seems to me that the Rohillas were sent into this part of the country probably by some disaffected parties in

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Hyderabad or it may be that they have been tampered with by rebels from Central India.

6. I think they were instructed to raid this part of the country. Their disturbances increased very much at the time that Tantia Topee was approaching the frontier, but adhering to their old policy, the Rohillas carefully abstained from molesting any village in the Assigned Districts.

7. They plundered however a great many Jagheer villages and some mahals, on our frontiers, sufficient to create diversion. Gradually as their number increased, they grew bolder. But I am of opinion that they were only led to attack Risond by the Arab Chaoouses, of whom one is named Hajlee, also called Kooja Ali and Haji Ali, and another named Islam Ba Fiqra.

8. Whether the Rohillas are actuated by mere loot or plunder or engaged by parties on political grounds, is not easy to determine. I shall refer to the Arabs lower down.

9. I beg to enclose a copy of a placard that was pasted up at the village of Inlgaon, in which the Rohillas called themselves the servants of Nana, but this might have been done as a means of gaining adherents amongst the Mahrattas, in that part of the country.

10. I think some measures ought to be taken to bring the principal Wuttendarree Zamindarrs *i.e.,* Deshmooks, and Deshpandeeas under better control.

11. They ought to give large security for good behaviour, and be required to disunite every Arab and Rohilla from their service and district, on pain of complete forfeiture of their Wuttundarree rights—and I think that Military assistance might properly be given to enforce this measure against any refractory local chief.

12. It is said that the Rohillas and Arabs are constantly maintained at ..... Wassah, Jintoor, Baminy, and other places and that they are prepared to invite other Rohillas ..... to keep the whole of the surrounding districts in a state of alarm and danger.

13. I am further of opinion that every stronghold throughout the Barahuttee Country should be completely

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dismantled, not only as a mark of displeasure, but also as a Military precaution, because it is in front of these round walls that so many valuable lives are lost.

14. It is stated, and I believe it does not require proof, that at Jintoor, Bogaun, Wassa, and other places situated on the plain, but immediately bordering on the hilly country, the Rohillas have within the last six months, established occasional Bazars for the sale of plundered goods, where every description of property was sold at low prices. This could only be done with the knowledge and connivance of influential parties in these places, and assuming that the Local Authorities are not strong enough to resist large bodies of Rohillas, or even to control their proceedings, yet certainly they might convey intelligence to their own Government, or to ours. I would therefore impose a heavy fine upon each place of importance where the Rohillas have been harboured.

15. I find from the depositions of two prisoners, that were present at Chechumba, one of whom is badly wounded, that the party of Arabs and Rohillas numbering about 500, besides Deccannees, attacked Rissond and assembled at.... many of them coming from Bussmutnugger. Bussmutnugger is held in "Tankha" by Omar bin Aood, Arab Jamadar at Hyderabad. ..... is a Jageer held by a Fakeer named Immoo Meah, who is reported to be a Peer of ..... the Nizam's own family. Islam Baphra is stated to be servant of the Hakeem, and to have been a servant of Osman bin Aood. He was one of the two Chaooses who commanded the Arabs at Rissond. The whole party was fed, nominally by Islam Ba Fiqra, but they encamped at the Durgah or Tukkeeah of the Fakeer, and it was rumoured in the country that they were not only fed by the Jagheerdhar, but that Pugrees were bound on the heads of the chieftains before starting on the expedition. The party subsequently encamped at Naggusuree, a strong Ghurrie belonging to Oomar bin Aood, and took its departure from this place to attack Rissond.

The prisoner states, that before (the Rohillas stated) it was rumoured among the lower classes that an English village was to be plundered, but it was not publicly announced until they got to Hyree within one march of Rissond. The attack on Rissond was made as insulting to the English as possible. I regret to say that Captain Ivy Campbell has not deemed it necessary to make any report to me on the

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occasion, ... but the fact is known that the Arabs, plundered Captain Campbell of everything he possessed, and that they attacked the Government Cotwall's police, killing one man and wounding others, and that they fired upon Captain Campbell himself as he rode away.

16. It certainly is a significant fact that this determined outrage upon our District should have proceeded from this quarter. It does not at all follow, and is in the last degree improbable that His Highness's Government should have countenanced this gross insult, but it seems to implicate the Arabs.

17. I should certainly consider that the Fakeer should be given up, and that the (ghurrees) at Basmatnagur, and Nagusuaree should be levelled with the ground. I do not press the point upon Brigadier Hill because these Forts are not understood to be garrisoned or holding out any defence, and the Fakeer Jagheerdar is not likely to abscond, as he of course would deny all connivance, and the question seems to be mixed up with political considerations, which makes it desirable that it should be left entirely in the hands of the Resident to determine what measures should be taken.

18. Should it appear from our scouts that no large body of Insurgents is now collected, I should in communication with Brigadier Hill propose to proceed towards ..... leaving Mr. Byminjee, Third Class Extra Assistant Commissioner in Camp, to assist in collecting supplies for the Troops.

19. I have authorized Mr. Byminjee to entertain ten persons for the special duty of bringing in supplies, the quantity required for daily consumption being very large, and the co-operation of the patels in the part we are now encamped not being heartily given. Some extra establishment has also been necessary to connect the camp communication with the general postal lines.

20. Mr. Byminjee has been employed on this duty since Brigadier Hill reached Maizda, and I hope he has proved himself to be exceedingly zealous and efficient.

21. The Khandar of Uttoolee who appears to be a Rohilla, or Northern Puthan, is in confinement. It is proved

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that he fed the body of Rohillas proceeding to attack Risond, and they again found their way back to this neighbourhood, where they were again supplied. He failed to give information, and this village has been noted for its refractory character for the last 40 years. The former Patel was in arms against Government.

22. Uttoolee is at the base of an amphitheatre of hills and is quite secluded from observation in the middle of a strong country.

23. Since writing the foregoing the Camp has moved to Bugaun where some prisoners have been made, being persons pointed out by the Deshmook as having joined the Rohilla marauders.

I have etc.,
(Sd.) S. H. BULLOCK,
Deputy Commissioner-in-charge.

Commissioner's Office,
Camp Uttoolee.

Contents of placard referred to in para 9 of the above letter.

"In the name of all the Rohillas, servants of Nana Sahib of Poonah. The Nizam (Mogullai) has allied himself with the British, and does not aid Nana Sahib. For this reason we are plundering the Nizam's Country. The Soobah (or Nizam) has seized three of our brethren—it is immaterial. You are to forward this letter to the Chief Authority of Salona for transmission to Aurangabad so that its contents may be made known to the Nizam of Hyderabad. This letter is to be forwarded with all speed to Salona. We shall devastate all the Nizam's Country."

(3)

Mukhthar-ul-Mulk's letter to the Resident

January 30, 1859.
Jamadissani 24, 1275 A.H.

"1. Your letter No. 118 dated 22nd Jamadissani about securities demanded from the Deshmukhs and about the case of Islam Ba Fiqra Chaus together with a copy of Mr. Black's letter and a copy of Brigadier Hill's order which was issued to the Naibs of Jathur, Joola, Bamathi etc. to send help to

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demolish the fort, to proceed towards Fateh Khadla etc. and to go to Jalna and Gangakhed, has been received.

2. As desired by you, the Naibs of Joola, Bhoganoon and Jathur have been addressed and asked for their explanation. Those jagir villages where disturbances took place will be confiscated by the Government.

3. Orders have also been issued with regard to demanding securities from the zamindars for their good conduct and dismissing the Rohillas, who are in their service and confiscating the watans of the watandars.

4. A prize of Rs. 2,000 has been announced through a notification for the arrest of the two Arabs namely, Islam Ba Fiqra and Haji Ali or Mohammed-Bin-Bajvi. From the statement of Omar-Bin-Aewaz Shamsheerudaula, it is clear that no *chaus* by name Islam Ba Fiqra was in the past or is at the present in his employ.

5. With regard to the orders issued by Brigadier Hill on your behalf for demolishing the forts of Basmathnagar and Nageshwari, it has been written that, if he wants to demolish them, he should not be prevented from doing so. From his letter it is clear that the Naibs have been accordingly cautioned. From your enclosed papers, it is not clear if the traitors are still in the Basmathnagar Fort. The Basmathnagar village is a place with a large population and so it is but proper that the fort is not brought down. It is, however, advisable to demolish the Nageshwari fort.

6. Taluqa Basmathnagar and the Nageshwari village are in the jagir of Shumsheeruddaula Bahadur. From him it is learnt that Naib Rafi is trying hard to create disturbances and he deserves punishment if an offence has been committed. Therefore he (Shamsheeruddaula) has been ordered that explanations be called for from the Naibs of Basmathnagar and Nageshwari.

7. Their explanations will be recorded after they present themselves and adequate punishment will be awarded in case the offences are proved."

(4)

Resident's letter addressed to Mukhtar-ul-Mulk

January 31, 1859.

"1. In reply to your yesterday's kind letter No. 152, it is to be stated that your letter and a copy of it have been sent to Brigadier Hill for information.

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2. From Black's letter it is proved that the traitors were given protection in the Basmathnagar Fort.

3. There is no good of sending the military to a country as long as all the people are not made to understand, as a lesson, that any place or fort, where traitors seek and obtain protection or where a clash takes place with the military of the British Government, will be completely destroyed.

4. It is yet to be proved whether the traitors found refuge in Basmathnagar. In case it is proved that no protection was provided to them, it is improper to destroy the fort.

5. Whether a fort is occupied or not, it is not good to provide refuge to traitors in it and it is necessary to punish those people who have shown any favour or extended any help to them (the traitors)."

(5)

Mukhtar-ul-Mulk's Letter to the Resident

January 31, 1859.
Jamadissani 25, 1275 A.H.

"In reply to today's letter No. 130 it is to be stated that there is no doubt that any place, where traitors have been given refuge or where there was a clash with the military of the British Government, should be brought to the ground for teaching a lesson to the people irrespective of its being occupied or not. Therefore, let Brigadier Hill be asked to bring down all such forts, wherever it is found proper to do so."

(6)

Brigadier Hill's letter to the Military Secretary to the Resident, dated February 1, 1859.

"1. For the information of His Excellency I beg to state that I reached Joola this morning after having travelled a distance of twenty-six miles and understand that the Pirzada is still here. I sent Capt. Dunn to bring him to the camp and accordingly the Pirzada complied with the orders.

2. The Pirzada's name is Shah Ghulam Hussain alias Masthan and that of his brother who accompanied him is Ghulam Mohasan. It was enquired of him whether he had received any letter from Hyderabad for presenting himself there and his reply was in the negative.

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3. In compliance with the orders of His Excellency I have kept both of them under arrest and they are now in my camp.

4. I intended going to Basmathnagar the next morning in order to take over the fort and completely demolish it as per orders of His Excellency. But there are at present three hundred Arab Government servants who will not vacate it unless they receive orders to that effect. Therefore, it has been postponed till they receive orders.

5. The reason for my postponement is that the inmates of the fort will not surrender it to me without orders, war and disturbance. It is for this reason that His Excellency's orders for immediate demolition of the fort have not been carried out. The fort will not be vacated and there will be a clash. But I wish there should not be any bloodshed as far as possible. Therefore, let me be informed whether the Ilaqadars of Basmathnagar and Nageshwari have been ordered by the Nizam's Government to hand these places over to me. Both the forts are under one and the same Jagirdar. Let me also know whether His Excellency desires that I should first ask them to hand them over to me or in case they don't do so, I should attack them. On receipt of a reply to this letter, action in accordance with further instructions will be definitely taken.

6. Mr. Black has committed a mistake so far as the name of the Pirzada is concerned because there is none of that name in Bharya or Parchal. According to him, the Pirzada of Parchal is an old man of sixty years.

7. Masaralya came to me when I sent for him. Joola and Parchal are no doubt under his nephews who are also his sons-in-law. All the members of his family live together.

8. I have told them that they can go to Parchal on the condition that, whenever they are wanted by His Excellency, they should present themselves before him.

9. That they participated in the recent disturbance is proved by the fact that Pirzada Ghulam Husain has admitted that the property looted at Gangakhed has been sold at Joola and that Islam Ba Fiqra has been his uncle's servant for the last two years as ordered by Rani Chamba, and that

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he went with some people to Rasod, stayed there and supplied Pagdies to two of his men. Even though their statements could be obtained with great difficulty, still whatever they have said is based on facts.

10. Immediately after the receipt of orders, I shall make proper arrangements for sending the Pirzada, his sons and nephews to Hyderabad because they have no tents. With a view to bringing to an end the disturbance, I have effected their arrest and this was necessary for the peaceful administration of the country. I think it is better to send them away from here.

11. As there is no military in the Athola fort which is under the Naib (Deputy), I have desired of Col. Roberts that he should demolish it because he is very near the place.

12. In case His Excellency writes to the Dewan to issue orders to the effect that the fort be handed over to me, it is better that a copy of the same is sent to me."

(7)

Resident's letter dated February 4, 1859 *addressed to Mukhtarul-Mulk*

"1. An urgent letter has now been received by post from Brigadier Hill from which it is clear that the order previously referred to demanding that Pirzada be asked to present himself here has not yet reached him. Hence, he has arrested the Pirzada and sent him here as a prisoner.

2. From what you have written, it is revealed that there are still three more Arab Government servants in Basmathnagar who have not yet received any orders for vacating the fort. Therefore, orders may immediately be sent to them to vacate the fort and hand it over to Brigadier Hill who, if they don't do so, will attack them.

3. A copy of the order that will be communicated to them may be sent to me so that the same may be forwarded to him.

4. Brigadier Hill's letter together with a copy of it has been sent to you. The original letter may be returned after your perusal".

(8)

Mukhtarul-Mulk's letter dated February 5, 1859 *addressed to the Resident*

"1. Your letter No. 164 bearing yesterday's date along with Brigadier Hill's letter together with a copy of it has been

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received. It is written in your letter that the Pirzada of Joola had not received any communication asking him to present himself but that he was arrested by Brigadier Hill and was sent to you as a prisoner. It is also written that the Naibs of Basmathnagar have not yet received any orders for vacating the fort. You have therefore desired that orders be sent to them to vacate it and a copy of the same be forwarded to you. In reply, it is stated that on the 8th Jamadi-us-Sani of the current year, Pirzada's pleader was asked to present his client and subsequently, on the 24th Jamadi-us-Sani, it was written that the Pirzada of Joola be sent and the forts of Joola and Nageshwari be demolished. Copies of the same were sent to you with the letter No. 157 dated Jamadi-us-Sani 25, 1275 Hijri. Now orders have again been sent to the effect that there should be no prevention in the demolition of the Basmathnagar and Nageshwari forts. Copies of the same are enclosed.

2. The Pirzada of Joola and his brother are now detained with Brigadier Hill. He wants to send them. It is all right. It may be done."

(9)

Injunction dated 1st Rajab, 1275 H. from Mohammed Saleh Khan Barq Jung addressed to Kishen Rao, Naib, Pargana Basmathnagar.

"The servants of Brigadier Hill want to demolish the forts of Basmathnagar and Nageshwari. Therefore, you are commanded not to prevent them from doing so and to immediately vacate both of them without any more excuses.

An order containing the above contents has been sent to the Arabs posted there."

(10)

Judgement delivered by the City Criminal Court in the case of the Pirzadgan of Javla, viz., Ghulam Hussain, and Syed Hussain, sons of Pir Badshah, Jagirdar of Javla, and Syed Ghulam Jeelani, Jagirdar, Perjal.

"The Resident's letter dated March 17, 1859 was examined. Its gist, the charge sheet and the list of the property of the criminals, *viz.*, the Pirzadgan of Jolah etc. and seven other statements, (which were about the Pirzadagan's participation in riots with Arabs and Rohillas), were also examined. The confession statement of Syed Ghulam Jeelani

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was also examined in which he had stated that Salim Ba Fiqra Chaoosh was in his service two years ago and the letter of Bargund Saheb was also examined in which the mention of the murder of Balaji Deshmukh's son had been made.

The statement of Shah Ghulam Hussain, son of Pir Badshah, Jagirdar, Mouza Jolah, is:—

'As my mouza is thickly populated and lies in the way, since two years Rohillas hereafter come here and particularly in the last one year they visited it in large numbers. Sometimes 500 Rohillas came, sometimes 1000 and sometimes 2000 visited the place and they stayed in the night. I have stated before Commissioner, Berar, that four months ago Rohillas left the place and after looting Gangakhed, they have sold the property in Bazar. At that time the following nineteen persons accompanied the Rohillas: Ghulam Nabi, Mahmood, Shaikh Chand, Hasan, Tanej Khan, Mohiuddin, Doole, Syed Nabood, Syed Munnoo, Karim, Sano Mali, Aisad Dhir, Ramba Dhir, Kanya Dhir, Saiwane, Sanba Dhir, Khandaba Naik, Yaina Naik, Saddo Goli. One day I learnt that the looted property of Gangakhed was sold. On the second occasion I did not know, as I fell ill. The Rohillas did not give me anything from the looted property. My uncle Ghulam Jeelani had employed Salim Ba Fiqra, to safeguard himself, when our village was attacked and looted. Neither did I give food to the Rohillas nor did I keep them in my house, nor did I arrange for their stay. Salim Chaoosh gave one Pagdi each to Ramji Havaldar, to a Banya and to a barber as a reward for supplying food. The said Chaoosh is the Chieftain of Arabs. The Officer of Hingoli had written to me two letters in 1275 H. In the statement which I had given before Bahmanji Jama Subji, this fact is clear that the Rohillas always stayed outside the town and the Banyas used to supply them food etc., but they never paid them in full. Sometimes it so happened that they did not pay them a single pie and they came to me with their complaints. But they always remained silent because Rohillas were strong and quarrelsome and moreover the Arabs and the people of the Deccan were also on their side. I rebuked Ramji Havaldar and Ramji Banya for having accepted Pagdis from the Rohillas. I never gave shelter to the Rohillas. There was a ceremony as a son was born to me and a function was held in my house. The Rohillas stayed in the Dargah and suddenly came to attend

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the function. I was quite helpless. I had not invited them. Some women also arrived from Perchal. I received orders from Hingoli Chaoni to give information as to which Rohillas had arrived. I replied that at present no Rohillas had arrived, and if some Rohillas would arrive, information about it would then be given. So when the Rohillas came after this, I at once informed Chaoni in writing. I do not remember the name of the Chaoni officer. Sometimes I received letters through the Naib of Hingoli and I also replied through this channel and I used to write separate letters to the Naib so that Government might be informed. I did not keep the copies of these letters with me and I did not inform the Government at Hyderabad. I wrote in detail to my uncle and brother about the high-handedness of the Rohillas and asked them to make some arrangements. I have got their letters which they sent in reply.'

The gist of Dastagir Sahib's letter which was received from Hyderabad and addressed to Mastan Badshah is: 'Do not worry about the report of Rohilla disturbances which you do not know in full, as here all are aware about the same. Orders have been issued to Taluqdars and the army has marched from here and Taluqdars have been ordered to maintain law and order with the help of the army.'

The gist of the statement of Syed Mohsin, son of Pir Badshah Jagirdar Jolah, which was recorded before Bahmanji Jame Subji and which was verified in the court, confirms the statement of Ghulam Hussain. The statement of Syed Jeelani Jagirdar Parchal, who is the uncle of Jagirdar Jolah, is:—

'In the month of Shawwal, 1274 Hijri, fourteen Rohillas, and in the month of Ziqad, three Arabs, and a second time six Arabs, came to our mouza. I had employed Aslam Ba Fiqra Chaoosh for three months. After two years I discharged him from my service. I informed Brigadier Major Wells Saheb Bahadur, who visited Jolah and Perchal, that my brother's son, due to the misleading suggestions of his subordinates, had contacts with trouble-mongering Rohillas. Brigadier Major Wells Saheb in his report dated April 1, 1859, which was received with the Resident's letter, had mentioned that at Parchal, Ghulam Jeelani had confessed before him that my brother's son had joined hands with the Rohillas in Jolah and had established friendship with them.'

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The statement of Ramji, son of Appaji, which has been given before Bahmanji Jame Subji, is:—

'After looting other villages, the Rohillas used to come to our Mouza. They sold the looted property of Gangakhed and Pilgaon in our Bazar. I have purchased one sari and some other things. Besides this, many other persons purchased articles in the Bazar. A son was born to Master Saheb and in this connection there was a function. Food for a feast was being prepared. On that day about 200 Rohillas came and stayed at Dargah, and roamed about in the village. God knows who informed them about the feast. About fifteen persons went near the Garbi and three Rohillas went inside it and brought food and went to their dwelling and enjoyed the food. Although the Pirzada's men advised them not to do so, they did not care about it. I do not know whether there was friendship between the Pirzada and the Rohillas as the Pirzada used to live in his house almost in seclusion, and I never saw any Arabs and Rohillas near Pirzada. The looted ornaments and jewellery were melted at the shops of Hanmanta and other goldsmiths.'

The gist of the statement of Kashi Ram son of Birbaji Momti, resident of Jolah, which was given before Bahmanji Jame Subji:—

'About eight or ten times the Rohillas came to that village. Sometimes they stayed for a while and sometimes longer and sold the booty in the Bazar. At the time of the sale of Pipalgaon's booty, I was not present in the village. But at the time of the sale of Gangakhed's booty, I purchased a sari. Except this sari I did not purchase anything.'

From the statement of Kuduppa, son of Sattayya, which he gave before Bahmanji, it is clear that he was not present at the function in the house of the Pirzada. Of those Rohillas and Arabs who were staying at the Dargah, some two or three persons came to the meeting and sat down, but Saleem Chaoosh was not among them. That night the Pirzada invited seventeen Arabs and Rohillas who had arrived on the first day and were in small number and Saleem Chaoosh was also among them. But the next day many people came and obviously no arrangements could be made to feed them.'

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The gist of the statement of Khoobun, wife of Mangal Khan of Jolah, which was given before Bahmanji is:—

'The Rohillas and the Arabs had brought the booty in the bazar. My husband Mangal Khan purchased some utensils. I do not know the price he paid for them. He brought a *Zari sari* of black border for three rupees and a Mushroo pyjama for eight annas.'

From the statement of Hyder Khan which was given before Bahmanji it is clear that he heard that the Rohillas and the Arabs came to Jolah four or five times, and sold the booty once or twice.

It is clear from Colonel Roberts Saheb Bahadur's letter dated April 20, 1859, addressed to the Resident, that the said Bahadur had once written a letter to Ghulam Husain Pirzada Jolah that the Rohillas had stayed in Jolah for one or two days. The Pirzada had replied that for the last few months he was ill and was staying away from the mouza for a change of climate and had no concern with religious matters. From the statements of the Pirzada it is clear that he had written two letters about the arrival of the Rohillas. In his first letter he wrote: 'At present the Rohillas are not here and if they come, intimation will be given.' In the second, he wrote: 'When the Rohillas came to Jolah after looting Gangakhed, and sold their booty in the bazar, I gave the information to the Chaoni'.

Syed Ghulam Jeelani, Jagirdar, Perchal, who is the uncle and father-in-law of the Pirzada of Jolah, has confessed before Brigadier Major Well that his brother's sons helped the Rohillas on the wrong advice of their subordinates and that they took sides with them and therefore it cannot be determined whether Mastan Shah sent food to the Rohillas with his consent or under compulsion. But the charge is proved against them that they did not inform the Government and the Deputy Commissioner about the arrival and departure of the Rohillas. It is also established that an open sale in the Bazar was held. Ghulam Hussain and Syed Mohsin should, therefore, be imprisoned for two years and Mouza Jolah, which is the centre of the Rohillas should be attached to Government's territory. No crime is established against Syed Ghulam Jeelani, Jagirdar of Perchal. He had employed Salim Ba Fiqra only to safeguard his house

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and not to take part in the loot. Moulvi Habibullah, Mir-Adalat, Nanded, in his Judgement dated 27th Shaban 1275 H. has sentenced Ghulam Nabi, Nagayya, Kafan-Daz of Jolah, Laxma, resident of the said mouza, Narayan Banjara, resident of the said mauza, and Ragabee, resident of mouza Umri, each for one year for taking sides with the Rohillas. The sentence appears to me to be light. From the statements of Syed Ghulam Husain and Syed Mohsin, it is clear that Ghulam Nabi and the others had helped the Rohillas of their own accord. Therefore, the judgement of Habibullah is not correct. Each of them is now sentenced to imprisonment for five years.

12th Ramzan, 1275 *H.*

(Sd.) Mohammad Karamat Ali."

(11)

"*Judgement in the case of the destruction of the Jolah village by Faqira and other rioters*

This case was filed before Mr. Stout, Lt. Adjutant of the 4th Cavalry Regiment at Hingoli, on Wednesday, the 27th of Rabi-us-Sani 1276 Hijri (November 3, 1859). All the documents of the file were examined. The gist of the statement of the first prisoner as recorded is that the witness started from his place unarmed for proceeding to the city and reached Hayatnagar village, adjoining Basmatnagar, one month and five days ago. He met an acquaintance by name Abdul Rahman Khan Rohilla in Hyderabad City. He asked him to accompany him as he would get him employment under a Naib (whose name he did not remember). He also gave him a sword and brought him to Bhusi village, which was at a distance of one Kuroh from Jitur town, and introduced him to one Nishanji. He lived with Abdur Rahman Khan in the forest of Bhusi village for twelve days when the army under Nagyan Bahadur arrived and besieged the village. He was arrested. Shareef Khan with a party of 50 Rohillas, Maliga with 12 Dhers and Persram Naik of Admi village lived with him in the forest. The Rohillas with the Jamadar and the Dhers and Mangs proceeded to plunder Jolah village. The second prisoner also formed part of the company. The third prisoner stayed at the headquarters and did not take part in the loot. The raiders after plundering the village proceeded towards the hills of Adgaon along with the spoils. Sharif Khan distributed the spoils

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amongst his associates but did not give any share to the witness. The witness also stated that the number of wounded and killed and the amount of looted property was not known to him. A Muslim employed in the State Force, who lived at Jiture, informed the Rohillas about the arrival of the British force. Thereupon the Rohillas shifted to Ghora. Two days before the British army laid siege (to Ghora) 12 Rohillas took the looted property on ponies to Valur town. The Rohillas brought the foodgrains from the Marwari of Vadal village.

The gist of the statement of the second prisoner is that he was a Government employee in the batch of Gulnoor Shah Miyan, Jamadar and was posted at Aurangabad. Four months back he obtained leave for an indefinite period from Shahar Yar Jung, Subedar, Aurangabad, and from the Jamadar for recovernig loan amounts advanced by him to his creditors at Nirmal and Jintur. He came to Jintur in the month of Moharrum and enquired of Rohillas and other persons the whereabouts of Sarwar Khan Rohilla, who owed him Rs. 50. They informed him that he was in the forest of Jintur and would return after a few days. The witness then proceeded to Jinwada and collected his desposit amount of Rs. 20 from Ramanna Patwari, a resident of Shahpur, and then returned to Jintur. He then came to the Rohillas in the Kohra forest of Bhusi village along with a Kalal. There he met Shareef Khan Rohilla and enquired about Sarwar Khan. Shareef Khan asked him to join his service and promised to send for Sarwar Khan. On his refusal Shareef Khan snatched his arms and carried him to Jolah village, where there were about 250 persons comprising 10 Rohillas with Dhers, Mangs and Bheels. The Bheels were sent for from Jalna and other places by Ramaliah the Mang. Some hours after nightfall the Rohillas proceeded to Jolah village and began to loot and fire their guns. Many houses were set fire to. The number of wounded and dead persons and the quantity of looted property was not known to him. He was sitting by the side of a well near the Chawdi and during the small hours of the night he started from that place and travelled a distance of 2 or 3 Kurohs, when he chanced to see Baliah Mang, Naik, Deshmukh and others distributing the looted property. They returned in the same direction from where they had come. He, along with the Rohillas and Shareef Khan, returned to Kohda and stayed there for two or three days insisting on the summoning of his debtor. He

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was given his arms, gun, sword, shield, six rupees and two Ashrafies (gold coins) and was asked to search for his own debtor. The witness then started from Bhusi village and after some days reached Jintur. There Ali Mardan Khan, Jamadar of the British Indian territory, arrested him and sent him in fetters to the Saheb Bahadur (British Officer). He further said that his service record was not with him as the Jamadar had not given him time to carry his record with him at the time of obtaining leave. The first prisoner was among the raiders and he took part in the dacoity at Jolah. The third prisoner did not participate in the dacoity as he was left at Kohda by the Rohillas. He saw Mir Khan Akhuzai Rohilla of the batch of Gul Noor Shah Miyan, Jamadar and Ata Mohammed Khan of the batch of Roshan Khan, posted at Aurangabad among the raiders. Mir Khan Rohilla, a resident of Milkhora participated in the dacoity at Jolah. He did not know if he was alive or killed. Ata Mohammad Khan of Bhusa also took part in the dacoity.

The gist of the statement made by the third prisoner is that about 1½ months ago Amir Khan Rohilla, with three of his comrades, came to Palam town. The third prisoner then joined the service of Amir Khan as a groom on a salary of about Rs. 2-8 per mensem. Amir Khan took him along with him to the forests of Kahora and Dali and met Shareef Khan, Jamadar. Prisoner remained in the service of Amir Khan for 15 days. One day Bansi Bal Naik Mang came to Kahora along with 25 Bheels and camped near the place where 100 Rohillas had already camped. All these persons went to Jalna and returned after 3 days bringing their looted property on ponies. Seven or eight Mangs of Dawali village accompanied by Bal Naik Mang came along with the raiders and left 3 Rohillas and 8 horses under his care so that he could participate in their raid on Jawla village for looting. After four or five days the British arrived there, laid siege to the place and fired a shot. He then fled from that place and took shelter at another place. A fight ensued between the Government forces and the Rohillas. In the meantime the Sowars of the British army arrived there, arrested him and brought him before the Saheb Bahadur. The Rohilla orderlies went to a place and brought some stuff on the head of a Begar. He learnt that his master Amir Khan was killed in an encounter. Prisoners Nos. 1 and 2 participated in the loot of Jawla.

The gist of the statement of Witness No. 1 of the prosecution, Shaik Ghansi, is that he was the Mukaddam of Jawla

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village. The Rohillas and others committed dacoity in Jawla village on the midnight of Saturday the 25th Rabi-ul-Awwal 1276 H. and looted property worth Rs. 22,034-4-0 and beat Nagwiah Vizali on his head. He was a Jain resident of Parchal village, who had come to the bazar held on that day. Besides Nagwiah who succumbed to the blow, 4 other travellers and 3 villagers were wounded.

Prosecution witness No. 2, Shimdas Marwari, a native of Bikaner, resident of Amravati, who was under treatment at the Hingoli hospital for his wounds stated that he had gone from Amravati to attend the Pandharpur jatra and on the way he reached Jawla and slept there for a night. The dacoits reached and raided the village on the same night. When he came out of the house he was hit by a sword on the back. When the dacoits asked him who he was, he said that he was a Brahman beggar who possessed nothing. They then searched him and set him free. Thereafter, he became unconscious. Three of his associates also were wounded. He was not aware of the number of wounded and dead.

The third prosecution witness, *viz.,* Ramsingh Rajput disclosed that he was a native of Amravati but was then residing at Hingoli. He was awake at the time when dacoity was committed. About 30 persons comprising of Rohillas committed the dacoity. Witness and party were going to attend the Jatra. The dacoits enquired about them. He said that he was one of their companions. Thereupon, they released him but wounded three of his associates, *viz.,* Shivdas, Naropa (who were present at the time of the hearing of the case) and Hema (not present). A Baqqal (grain merchant) was killed by the dacoits and he himself saw the corpse the next morning. On interrogation by the Munsiff of the Court of Subah Mohammedabad Bidar the witness stated that prisoners Nos. 1 and 2, Shaikh Ali Arab (unemployed) and Abdur Rahim Khan Rohilla (a Government Servant) proceeded to Vaijnath and from there they began to participate in loot and plunder along with 200 Rohillas. They were with Fakhira in the loot of Jawla and fired guns. They set fire to many houses, looted property and distributed the booty among themselves. They carried with them the shares of the Rohillas who were not present. The rioters had on purpose appointed one Hari Dher in their service. The evidence of the first prosecution witness revealed that a villager was wounded by the blow of the Dher and he died,

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and seven other persons were wounded by the same Dher. The third prosecution witness was an eye-witness and the next morning he saw the corpse of the person who was murdered by the dacoits. Thus the death of that person at the hands of the dacoits was an established fact. The offences of wilful destruction of property, the plundering of the village and homicide having been proved against prisoners Nos. 1 and 2 they should be punished by death and prisoner No. 7 should be sentenced to rigorous imprisonment and he should be kept in fetters. He should be set free on security after serving a sentence of 7 years imprisonment. The judgement was given in accordance with the orders of *Shara* and the Fatawa-e-Alamgiri *that a murderer should be punished with murder.*

(Sd.) Syed Abdul Mannan,
Munsiff, Subah Mohammadabad Bidar.

By their statements Shaikh Ali Arab and Abdur Rahim Rohillas have admitted that they committed dacoity in Jawla and also committed murder. So they should be put to the gallows and their corpses should be kept hanging for some days for the sake of warning the people. Prisoner No. 3, *viz.*, Hari Dher is sentenced to seven years imprisonment. The above judgement is correct.

Jamadi-us-Sani, 1276 H.

(Sd.) Mohammad Karamatullah,
Nazim."

* * *

Enclosing to the Military Secretary to the Resident two copies of the judgment delivered by Syed Abdul Mannan, Munsiff of Bidar, in consultation with Major Apt of Hingoli, regarding the three persons Shaikh Ali Arab, Abdul Rahim Khan Rohilla and Hari Dhed, Brigadier Hull stated that the three persons were imprisoned at Jitoor. According to the judgment Shaikh Ali Arab and Abdul Rahim Khan Rohilla were sentenced to death. In this context Brigadier Hull suggested that if the Resident agreed, their execution would be carried into effect at Jitoor only under strict guard. He expressed the view that the lawless Rohillas, who lived in the hilly areas near Jitoor, would thus learn a lesson.

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The copy of the judgment relating to this case forwarded to the Resident by Brigadier Hull differs in a few material particulars from the version given just above. It is therefore reproduced:—

"*Judgement*

Prosecution by the Government.

Accused

1. Shaikh Ali Arab of Jedda staying at Hyderabad.
2. Abdul Rahim Khan Rohilla of Vilayat Jedda staying at Aurangabad.
3. Hari Dhed of village Dhanjin.

This case was heard by Lieut. Stout of the Fourth Cavalry Regiment at Hingoli on Wednesday the 7th Rabi-us-Sani 1276 H. (November 23, 1859). All documents in the file were examined.

The accused No. 1 in his oral statement recorded on the same day stated that he left Hyderabad about a month and five days ago for his native place. On the way he reached Hayatnagar, which is near Basmatnagar. While coming from Hyderabad he had no arms with him. At Hayatnagar he met Abdul Rahim Khan with whom he was previously acquainted. Abdul Rahim Khan gave one sword to Shaikh Ali and took him along with him to the village Bhoosi which is near Jitoor, with a promise to secure employment for him. He introduced him to his brother, who was famous for his marksmanship. Shaikh Ali lived in the jungle of Bhoosi along with Abdul Rahim Khan for about twelve days before he was captured by the regiment of Kagha Sahib. In the jungle of Bhoosi there were twelve low-caste camp-followers under Shareef Khan, Jamadar, and Parsaram Mang of Vadali village was also with them. The Rohilas, the Jamadar, his camp-followers, the Mang and Shaikh Ali all joined in looting the village of Jola. The second accused also was along with them. The third accused did not accompany them. He remained in the camp. After looting the village of Jola the party of looters went to the hills near Argaon. Sharif Khan, Jamadar, distributed the whole booty among the Rohilas. Nothing was given to the first accused. He further stated that he did not remember either the number

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of the injured or the killed or the amount of the looted property. A day before the Government forces surrounded the area one Muslim whose name was not known to him, came from Jitoor and informed them about the movements of the forces. Thereupon, the Rohilas shifted to Khora. Most of the Rohilas went to Dalur, taking the looted property along with them. The remaining Rohilas went to the village Vadali.

The second accused stated that he was in Government service at Aurangabad. Obtaining leave for an indefinite period from Gulnoorshah Jamadar and Shaheryar Jung, Subedar of Aurangabad, he went to Jitoor in the month of Moharram with the intention of collecting money from his debtors. He tried to ascertain the whereabouts of Sarwar Khan Rohila (who was one of the rebels) from various persons at Jitoor because he owed him fifty rupees. Meanwhile, he went to Janwada to see another debtor named Ramanna Patwari. After returning again to Jitoor, he went along with a Kalal to the jungle of Khora where he expected to see his debtor Sarwar Khan. But there he met Shareef Khan, Jamadar, who said that he would call Sarwar Khan if the accused entered into his service. But when Abdul Rahim Khan refused to serve, Shareef Khan snatched his arms and compelled him to accompany him to the village of Jola. There were about 80 Rohilas and about 250 Dheds, Mangs, Bhils, etc., who took part in the raid on Jola. The Bhils were specially called from Jalna by Ramalata Mang. Jola was raided at midnight. The Rohilas engaged themselves in loot and arson to their heart's content. Guns were fired and many houses were burnt down. The exact number of dead and injured villagers as also the amount of looted property could not be determined. When the looting was going on Abdul Rahim Khan sat near Chawdi in the Bazar of Jola. Some time before dawn, he went out taking some rounds, when he found Balayya Mang, Naik, Deshmukh, etc., sitting and distributing the booty among themselves. After taking their shares Naik and Deshmukh returned to their hiding places. Abdul Rahim Khan, however, returned again to the jungle of Khora along with Shareef Khan and the other Rohilas. After about three days, Shareef Khan gave two Ashrafees and six Rupees to Abdul Rahim Khan, returned his arms (Karabin rifle) and asked him to go in search of his debtor. Thereupon, Abdul Rahim Khan returned to Jitoor where he was arrested by Alimardan Khan.

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Abdul Rahim Khan did not possess his identification card. He stated that the first accused also participated in the loot at Jola. The third accused, however, was not along with the looting party because he was left at Khora by the Rohilas.

Mir Khan Rohila of Khora and Ata Mohamad Khan Rohila of Bhoosi also participated in the looting.

The third accused said in his statement that he was employed by Ameer Khan as his servant to look after the horses. While he had been in the service of Ameerkhan in the jungle of Khora, one day, Bal Naik Mang came there with about 25 Bhils. About hundred more Bhils accompanied them in the looting of Jola. The third accused and the Rohilas were left behind at Khora to look after the horses. He received a bullet injury when the Government forces surrounded the jungle. He tried to run away but he was arrested at Kushtapeta. The first and second accused participated in the looting.

Statements of the Prosecution Witnesses:—

(1) Shaikh Mukaddam of Jola stated that the Rohilas raided Jola on Saturday the 25th Rabi-us-sani 1275 Hijri at about 2 a.m. They looted property worth Rs. 22,034-4-0 and belaboured Nagoba Jain of the village Perchal, who had come over there. Nagoba succumbed due to the belabouring and seven travellers who had come over to Jola were injured.

(2) The second witness Shivdas Marwari of Bikaner residing at Hingoli stated that while going on pilgrimage to Pandharpore he reached Jola. At midnight he heard the sound of firing. Some dacoits came to him and took away his umbrella as he had nothing else with him. They injured the three other persons, who were with him. He then became unconscious.

(3) The third witness Ramsing Rajpoot of Amraoti, residing at Hingoli, stated that about 30 Rohilas came to him and injured his colleagues Shivdasji and Nagoba. He, however, managed to escape. Next morning Ramsing saw with his own eyes the dead body of a person of Jola, who was killed at the hands of the raiders.

Upon investigation by the Munsif of Mohammadabad Bidar the first and second accused admitted that about 250

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persons including Rohillas, Bhils, etc., raided Jola at mid-night and took part in the loot and arson there. The looted property was distributed. Some of those who got a share of the looted property were absent at the time of the raid. Hari Dhed was forced to serve the rebels.

The evidence of the prosecution witnesses shows that Nagoba Bakal died of severe belabouring and seven travel-lers were injured. In view of this evidence the Court found the accused numbers one and two guilty. The presence of the third accused was also proved.

The Court therefore ordered that the first and second ac-cused should be executed and the third accused should be sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment. After the expiry of the imprisonment period, which started from the date of the judgment the third accused was to be released on bail.

15 Jamadi-ul-Awal, 1270 H.

(Sd.) Sayed Abdul Mannan,
Munsiff, Mohamadabad-Bidar, etc.

It was ordered that Shaik Ali Arab and Abdul Rahim Khan should be hanged in the presence of the people of Jola and the dead bodies should be kept hanging for a few days in order to awe the people. It was also agreed that the third accused should be imprisoned for seven years.

6 Jamadi-us-Sani, 1276 Hijri.

(Sd.) Mohammad Karamatali,
Nazam Foujdari."

* * *

The Rohilla Insurrection at Nirmal

The insurrections of the Rohellas continued till 1860. At Nirmal in the district of Adilabad they were joined by the Gonds under the leadership of Ramji Gond. The fol-lowing account of the attack led by the Collector of Nirmal on 9th April, 1860 against the band of Rohillas, Gonds and Deccanis concentrated a few miles away from Nirmal has been pieced up from the correspondence extant in the files preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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"Letter No. 155, dated April 9, 1860 giving a detailed account of the attack made on Haji Ali and other Rohillas might have been perused.

Further details were that on Sunday last week after 4 a.m. the Collector received information that Ramji and other rioters were sheltering near a mountain at a distance of 15 kuroh (from Nirmal) and four kuroh from the road. The place where the enemy had camped was not easily accessible. The position was that two persons could hardly pass side by side and even daily necessities like food and water were not available there. With a sense of loyalty he (the Collector) proceeded with the available force. Suffering untold hardships he came to where the hostile forces were put up at midday and attacked them. At first, firing was exchanged for some time which was later on followed by sword-fighting. The number of persons killed on the enemy's side was not known. The rebels consisted of about 200 Rohillas and 300 Gonds and Deccanees. Many of the rebels after being wounded took to their heels. Thirty dead bodies of the rebel Rohillas and others were found. Some Jamadars of their force identified the dead body of Miyan Saheb Khurd, a chief of the Rohillas, who came from Narayankhed. A Sarkheel of the Gonds, whose name was not known, was also killed in this encounter. A large number of rebels were wounded. At first they thought of hanging down the dead bodies of the Rohillas on trees in the neighbourhood but later the plan was abandoned lest it might hurt the sentiments of the Rohillas of their force. The corpses were therefore buried by the Rohillas on their side.

As regards the casualties on the Government side, a Sikh belonging to the force of the Second Ziladar, Warangal, and an Arab belonging to Saif-ud-daula's group posted at Nirmal were shot dead by the enemy. Besides these, a Dafedar of the Sikh force, an Arab, two Sindhi Jawans and one other servant were wounded. A Sowar named Ghulam Ali Khan, who accompanied the Collector's batch in the hope of getting some job, was also killed. The batch got the horse of Haji Ali Nusrath, who, as a result of wounds, dropped down from the horse and escaped. The Government force did not chase the rebels who took to their heels as the members of their force were very wearied and feeling hungry. They had covered a distance of 20 kuroh in 4½ hours on empty bellies. There was paucity of rations with them.

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As the men of their force were very hungry and thirsty and as it grew dark they moved on in quest of food and water. It was only after trekking a distance of two kurao in the Balapur desert, Utnur taluq, that they could get water. In the meantime the rebels took advantage of this opportunity and escaped. Fatheh Ali Khan, Thanedar of Chinnur, was deputed for the assistance of the Thanedar of Edlabad but he had not even seen the latter. He will, however, take action against the rioters of that region and will certainly chase them. God willing the rioters will be rounded up and brought to book."

(2)

"The Taluqdar of Nirmal informed the Dewan of the attack on the one thousand stong Rohillas and Gonds, who were known to be receiving aid from Nagapur. The army had to proceed facing untold difficulties on account of the roads being impassable. There was paucity of everything with the result that the army had to put up with what little it could find for its subsistence and it never spared any efforts to fight the hostile forces. At first it was only an exchange of bullets between the forces but later it switched to a sword fight. The fight claimed a few casualties on both the sides. However, the army succeeded in rounding up the rebels but their Chieftain Ramji escaped. The Resident was intimated of the details of this event and he in his reply appreciated the services of the Taluqdar urging the arrest of Ramji without fail. The file does not contain any information about the arrest of Ramji."

Ramji Gond was later arrested, tried and hanged at Nirmal. The insurrection in the Adilabad District was put down in this way. The insurrections of the Rohillas were ended by 1860, when a number of Rohillas were arrested, tried and sentenced to various terms of long imprisonment.

Insurrections of the Bhills

In 1857 Bhills rose in rebellion against the British in the Ajunta region under the leadership of Bhagoji Naik. Their activities continued till 1859, when they were dealt with by the Contingent troops and put down. They had been joined by a prominent landlord of Vaizapur in the Aurangabad district named Govind Kasiraj Deshpande.

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The following extracts shed light on these activities of the Bhills:—

(1)

"*Englishman,* December 16, 1859.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 30th November:—

'Captain Pedlar marched from Aurangabad to attack some Bheels, who had risen in the district of Byzapoor to aid the Bheels in Khandeish, whom Mr. Souter, as the Bombay papers have recently informed us, attacked and defeated in Khandeish, killing and gibbeting their chief. He overtook these insurgents in the Mahadave Hills, and defeated them, killing forty of the party, himself losing two men killed, and six wounded. The ground did not permit of the cavalry acting, or many more of the enemy would have been destroyed.'"[1]

(2)

"*Encounter with Bhils*

A detachment of 130 men 3rd Cavalry, and 3 guns, 4th Company Artillery, marched from Aurangabad on the 17th November 1859, under command of Lieutenant Pedler, against a party of Bhils in the vicinity of Byzapur. Lieutenant Pedler came up with the Bhils, about 400 in number, at Walela, on the 20th November, and attacked and defeated them, killing between 40 and 50, and wounding as many more, whilst the rest escaped into the jungles under cover of darkness. Lieutenant Pedler had one man killed and eight wounded."[2]

(3)

"In February 1859, detachment of the 1st Cavalry under Captain Murray at Udgir and Captain Grant at Gangakher pursued and captured a party of 150 Rohillas who had plundered the village of Nelingah. A mixed force of Madras and Contingent troops, the latter consisting of detachments of the 2nd and 4th Cavalry, two guns 1st Company Artillery, and the 1st Infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel W. Orr, were at the same time employed against Arabs and Rohillas.

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 240.
2. *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent* by Major R. G. Burton, p. 246.

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A force under Captain Abbott, composed of the 4th Cavalry, 1st Company Artillery, and 3rd Infantry, left Hingoli on the 31st October 1859, and attacked and defeated a party of Rohillas at Jintur, forty miles east of that place, on the 3rd November, losing one man killed and eight wounded."[1]

About the activities of Govind Kasiraj Deshpande, from records preserved in the Central Records Office, it is apparent that the Resident, while forwarding the papers received from Bullock, officiating Commissioner, to the Diwan, has in his letter dated December 12, 1859 asked for the arrest of Govind Kasiraj Deshpande of Vaizapur. The charge against him was that he had collected about 2,000 Bhils and in league with Shayaji Naik had carried on an insurrection in the districts of Aurangabad and Ahmednagar. It appears that after the dispersal of the Bhils Govind Kasiraj Deshpande was arrested, and tried there. The information gathered at Vaizapur shows that Govind Kasiraj seems to have died in prison.

In the middle of the year 1858, when Tatya Tope transferred his operations to Central India, the activities of the Rohillas and the Bhils increased. The passes leading to the Deccan were guarded by the Contingent Forces, which made it impossible for Tatya Tope to plan a march to the South, but elements which separated from him consisting of Rohillas and Arabs spread themselves over the Deccan and created widespread disturbances, which were put down, as has been narrated above, only by the end of 1860.

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1. *A History of the Hyderabad Contingent* by Major R. G. Burton, pp. 245-246.

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Chapter VIII

THE CONSPIRACY OF RANGA RAO

While the Contingent Forces were engaged in putting down the insurrections of the Rohillas, throughout the year 1858, a formidable plan of insurrection was being hatched by Rang Rao, Raja Deep Singh, Zamindar of Kowlas, and Safdar-ud-Dowla, the natural son of Rao Rambha Nimbalkar, a Mahratta nobleman at the court of Hyderabad, and others.

It has already been remarked that a number of emissaries from Nana Saheb Peshwa and Tatya Tope were moving in the Deccan inciting people to rise against the British. The contemporary papers are full of such allusions. The following extracts will show how the Mahratta agents were working up the people in the Deccan at this time:—

(1)

"*Englishman,* April 12, 1859.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 29th ultimo:—

'A Brahmin has been apprehended with the Nana's proclamations upon his person. He has been tried by Captain Bullock, and in all probability capitally convicted. We require some severe examples to be made here: the people have lost sight of our powers. Let us show them first that it has not been lost; after that we may be as gentle as lambs.' "[1]

(2)

"*Englishman,* April 23, 1859.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 10th April:—

'The pursuit of the Rohillas and their abettors has led incidentally to the discovery of a correspondence with an

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 230.

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emissary of Nana, in which as yet four persons alone have been implicated. Of these, three are prisoners, as also the emissary; the Raja of Kowlas, being the fourth, is still at large and raising troops to maintain himself, perhaps in his stronghold Kowlas, against the Government. Had any clue to such a conspiracy been discovered at any period whatever of our difficulties it is quite impossible for the Resident not to have used his most strenuous energies to procure the apprehension and punishment of the criminal. To have remained silent from a temporizing policy when such conspiracies were carried on in the country would have betrayed a degree of weakness in the English Government and its administration of which it is incapable. The conspiracy has but now been incidentally discovered. The apprehension of the Puttels of Hurlee, for protecting Rohillas, led to the seizure of their papers, which have disclosed the conspiracy by a rather extensive correspondence of the conspirators. I believe many men to have been concerned in conspiracies against the English Government; and that the Resident and the Minister have never received direct information of it (for I confidently believe that that would have been followed by the apprehension and punishment of the criminals) does not in my opinion negative the existence of an extensive conspiracy, with numerous conspirators concerned in it, but is a proof that the whole country, nearly, colludes with them; of its sympathy there can be no doubt.' "[1]

(3)

"*Englishman,* May, 3, 1859.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 20th April—

'The man styling himself the Rajah of Satara has been captured by Captain Murray, who has also taken a second emissary of Nana, whose order to get the Beydur of Shorapore to rise, dated sometime in 1858, was found on his person. It is rather a curious coincidence that about the date of this order I was beset by anxious inquiries from Mahomedan gentlemen about Captain Taylor's health; a domestic alone informed me that a rising at Shorapore, and the murder of Captain Taylor, Deputy Commissioner of that district, were rumoured. I drew the conclusion that the emissary had stirred up the people, that the proposed insurrection was mentioned to everybody, preparing him to

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 230-231.

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join in it as a thing to be, and that report had brought it down to Hyderabad as an event accomplished."[1]

A reference has already been made to the posters appearing in Hyderabad calling upon the people to join the army of Tatya Tope and rise against the British.

The conspiracy of Rang Rao, which took place in the year 1858, arose from the orders and proclamation which he secured from Nana Saheb Peshwa calling upon the people in the Deccan to emulate the example of their compatriots in the North and rise against the British. As early as February 1857, Sonaji Pandit, a Deftardar in the estate of Raja Rai Rayan, a nobleman of Hyderabad, had addressed a letter to Nana Saheb Peshwa at Cawnpore. Sonaji Pandit had already been banished from Hyderabad and was residing in a jagir village. He entrusted the letters addressed to Nana Saheb Peshwa to one Rang Rao Pagay, a village official, to be carried to the North. Ranga Rao seems to have left for Cawnpore in the middle of 1857. He met Nana Saheb and secured orders and instructions addressed to the leading people in the Deccan. On his way back, a number of these documents seem to have been lost. Two of these documents have been traced in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad. They are rendered below:—

(1)

"Notification by the Government of the Pant Pradhan Peshwa Bahadur to the soldiery, to the Kulkarnis, to Bagaji Patil and to the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes of the districts of Nagar and Shorapur.

Let it be known that in Hindusthan the Hindus and the Muhammadans, having been provoked to stand up together to defend their faiths, have attacked the camps of the Sahebs and they (the Sahebs) have been slain everywhere. In consequence it is being made known to you by these presents that Shree Ratnakar Page Narkhedkar and Sonajipant of Hyderabad have been charged with the responsibility of organizing effective resistance in those parts. You are therefore, enjoined to act in the name of your faith and destroy the Englishmen, wherever they may be found. This is the only way in which Hindus and Muhammadans alike will

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 233.

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be able to preserve their faiths. Whosoever will lend his whole-hearted support to this cause will live to see his prosperity and will earn our rewards too. Dated the 4th of Ramzan corresponding to Vaishakh Shudha Panchami, Sunday, Shak 1780."

(2)

"To Sonajipant Daftardar of Hyderabad. Here the Hindu people have killed the Sahebs in the army, having been provoked to the act by an affront to their religious sentiments. It is a pity that people there are so apathetic to their faith. Rajesri Ranga Rao Ratnakar, who has explained to us the position there in detail, is now being sent with a notification to all the soldiers and officers and to the Deshmukhs and Deshpandes of districts to act with speed. You are, therefore, to oversee the efficient conduct of these matters. In doing so you will be only acting in your best interests. Dated the 4th of Ramzan, Shak 1780, month of Vaishakh."

Rang Rao had reached Aurangabad, when he heard that Sonaji Pandit, the author of the communication addressed to Nana Saheb Peshwa, had died on 26th February, 1859. Rang Rao then moved towards Hyderabad and on his way stopped at Kowlas in the district of Nanded. Raja Deep Singh of Kowlas seems to have either encouraged Rang Rao in his designs or connived at them. Rang Rao established contacts with a number of people in and about Kowlas. He also sent word to Safdar-ud-Dowla of the Nimbalkar family. The reply which Safdar-ud-Dowla gave shows how the disaffected elements in Hyderabad were impelled by an urge to join in a plan of general rising against the British:—

"I received your letter and noted the contents. I am again sending Shaikh Madar with letters addressed to the Jamedars. As you are aware the Jamedars are my enemies. Whatever you write the Jamedars should swear for it. You should not hesitate to despatch their letters. I have reposed my confidence in you. I came to know in detail about the agent through your letter. It is learnt that he is the only agent. You had written that he had got a letter addressed to me. Please get that letter from him and send it to me carefully. If you find that he carries no letter addressed to me please ask him to obtain the same and despatch it to me. Soon after the receipt of that letter I shall certainly proceed to meet him.

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All the Arabs, Sindhies and Baluchies in the city will remain in the city. Not a single soldier will remain in the city as I have made all necessary arrangements in that regard. God willing, we shall be successful. When I go to see him then he will know that the whole army is with me and whatever may be commanded will certainly be complied with. But this is subject to the condition that I receive the letter. How would one risk to undertake such a mighty task unless one is satisfied? Recruitment of persons to any service is also conditioned on arrangements being made for the payment of salaries to the newly recruited soldiers. I have collected 20 to 25 thousand *Hawai* (sky rockets) and I can ensure their safe and secure transport. I am, however, eagerly waiting for the orders. More information may be had from Shaikh Madar. The letter to the Mutasaddi bears my seal in order that he may not face any obstruction from any quarter in the course of his journey. Please send back Shaikh Madar at your earliest convenience."[1]

The plan of Rang Rao seems to have failed mainly due to the lack of finances. The plot was discovered early in 1859 as a result of which Rang Rao, the Raja of Kowlas, Safdar-ud-Dowla and other associates were arrested and put up for trial. The following extract from a contemporary newspaper is of interest in this context:—

"*Englishman,* April 12, 1859.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 29th ultimo:—

'There was no want of significant symptoms to point out to us that the Nizam's subjects were numerously confederated with rebels, and corresponded through emissaries with their chiefs. There was no clue, however, by which to track the conspiracy. The sympathy with the conspirators was almost universal, and time and chance could alone be relied upon for a disclosure of their machinations. That has now fortunately occurred, and from the apprehension of four conspirators, against whom there exist proofs of their correspondence with emissaries of the Nana, and of four Talukdars leagued with marauding Rohillas, I have hopes that further traces of a conspiracy I believe to be extensive may be found. Times and circumstances have permitted the bold spirits among those who hate us to manifest openly

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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and ostentatiously a hostile spirit towards us, in some cases even by overt acts. It is now about time that retribution should follow; justice requires it especially, and policy not less so.

The Puttels of Harlee, father and son, gave shelter to Rohillas. Captain Murray, of the Contingent, was sent against them. The Puttels absconded; Captain Murray having discovered that the son had taken refuge in a village two miles distant from Harlee, succeeded in capturing him. The father then gave himself up—rather a curious fact, unless his reliance was that their punishment would not exceed a mulct, for in the village was found not only property plundered at Nelungee, but a correspondence, in original letters, carried on by Sufdur-ood-Dowla, one of the impoverished Hyderabad Ameers, the Raja of Kowlas, a considerable Zemindar, and the two before-mentioned Puttels, with an emissary of the Nana, perhaps the Brahmin whom I mentioned in my last letter as imprisoned, tried, and convicted. The discovery of the conspiracy is fortuitous, but when we have eight prisoners to deal with, unless they are buoyed up with the hopes of being treated leniently, it will be hard if further disclosures be not made.' "[1]

Ranga Rao was tried by the Resident himself for treason and attempt to raise troops under instructions from Nana Saheb. He was sentenced to death in April 1859. The sentence was later commuted by the Governor-General to transportation for life to the Andamans, where he died in 1860. Raja Deep Singh, Safdar-ud-Dowla and others were tried by the courts of Hyderabad. Raja Deep Singh was sentenced to three years imprisonment and deprived of his jagirs which were later restored to his son. Safdar-ud-Dowla's movable and immovable property was confiscated and he was sentenced to detention for life. Shaik Madar was sentenced to imprisonment for a year. The property of Raghunath Rao was confiscated and he was sentenced to three years imprisonment. Jai Ram Pateel was dismissed from service and sentenced to three years imprisonment. The statements of the accomplices in this plan of insurrection, (who were later convicted), are given below:—

A Gist of the Statement recorded by Rang Rao Patwari of Narkhed village

" On being sent for by Sonaji Pandit, I went to him. I was unemployed at that time. The Pandit handed over a

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 228-229.

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letter to me for the purpose of being delivered to Nana Saheb. I crossed the rivers Narmada and Jumna and delivered the letter wrapped in my turban to Nana Saheb at the village of Berwathoda, situated 16 kuroh to the west of Lucknow. Nana Saheb handed to me a reply to the said letter and also a sealed letter in Marathi containing orders for hoisting the flag and creating disturbances. Nana Saheb also gave me letters addressed to Safdar-ud-Daula, Rao Rumbha, Gulab Khan and Bajuri. After taking these letters I returned. I delivered the letters addressed to Gulab Khan and Bajuri at Aurangabad. The letters addressed to Safdar-ud-Daula and Rao Rumbha were seized by dacoits on the way along with my other goods. Only the letter containing the orders and the letter addressed to Sonaji Pandit remained safe and secure. As Sonaji Pandit was dead by the time I returned to his place, I proceeded to Hyderabad. On my journey to Hyderabad I stayed at Madhapur for two days and showed the orders of Nana Saheb to the Naik of that village but he declined to comply with the orders. Babu Patel, son of Jairam Patel, came to Madhapur and along with him I proceeded to Halli. There I met Jairam Patel and showed the said orders to him, but he also refused to give effect to the said orders. I stayed there for about eight days and then proceeded to Chakli, where I contacted the village Patel, Anand Rao. This Patel also expressed his inability to carry out the said orders. From Chakli village I proceeded to Kowlas and reached there by the end of the month. In Kowlas I stayed, styling myself a medical practitioner, and started practice. The Raja Saheb was ill at that time. Three days after my arrival, I got an interview with the Raja Saheb. I showed the orders of Nana Saheb to the Raja Saheb and also informed him of the work entrusted to me by Nana Saheb and the loss of my belongings and the letters. The Raja Saheb enquired about Nana Saheb and I told him whatever I knew. When I requested him for the implementation of the orders of Nana Saheb he told me that he could not do that work. He gave me some amount and asked me to depart. Thereafter, I met Kasi Ram in connection with the said orders and he agreed to collect 2,000 soldiers comprising Arabs, Rohillas and Deccanese on the condition that arrangements for their salaries should be made by me. I accepted his condition and got a bond written by Baswant Rao, son of Waji Patel, and signed it with my *katjar* and handed it over to him. From there I started for Palkal village as Ramesar Rao had written a letter to me.

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When I showed the orders of Nana Saheb to Ramesar Rao he told me that he would first write to Liaqat Ali Jagirdar. After receiving a reply to his letter he would consider. I stayed there for five days and then returned to Kowlas, where I stayed for some days. In my first and second visit to Kowlas I met the Raja Saheb four times. The Raja Saheb told me that my stay at Kowlas was inadvisable and asked me to leave Kowlas. Then I proceeded to Nilekar and stayed with Raghunath Waji for 15 or 16 days and showed him the orders. He told me that those orders would not be of any use and advised me to return to my native place. When I asked for travelling charges from him he did not give me anything. From there I proceeded to Manik-nagar and saw Manik Prabhu. I communicated the purpose of my mission. I stayed there for 8 days and with his blessings went to Nilekar village. There I met Bande Ali Patel for a second time and showed the orders. He said that if the people of the adjacent villages rose in revolt he would co-operate with them. From Nilekar I proceeded towards Ankalska but on the way I stopped at Omarga and met the Maharaja and showed him the orders. I had hardly reached the outskirts of Ankalska, when the sawars of the British army arrested me. I did not meet any Naib, Amir or Jamadar in any city or village other than those already mentioned by me. I did not correspond with anybody except that I wrote two letters to Safdar-ud-Daula, one from Palkal and the other from Kowlas. In the first letter I made mention of my meeting with Ramesar Rao Patwari of the Jagir of Liaqat Ali and in the other I asked him to come to Kowlas. In reply to my letters Safdar-ud-Daula wrote that he had noted the contents of my letters and would like to obtain further information from Jairam Patel's letter. "[1]

A Gist of the Statement of Safdar-ud-Daula, Convict No. 557.

" As I was facing starvation due to the non-receipt of my salary I wrote a letter to Baja Bai. I received a reply from her that my coming at that moment was inadvisable. It was also mentioned in the letter that I should reach there whenever I was called for. Meanwhile, I was appointed as Ziladar by the Government and went there in that capacity. At that time I was sent for by Baja Bai through a verbal message but I declined to go. After that, I learnt from Shaikh

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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Madar, who had been to Kowlas, that the Mutasaddi of Nana Saheb had come to Kowlas and that he was raising an army. When the Shaikh was offered employment he rejected it as he was already in my service. Thereupon, the Mutasaddi told him that he had a letter from Nana Saheb in my name and that it might be delivered to me safely. But actually he sent a letter to me with Shaikh Madar, which stated that all arrangements had been made and that I should enrol as many Arabs as I could. I replied in Marathi to the effect that the letter from Nana Saheb should first be shown to me and then only the entire forces of the Government could be placed at his disposal. Two other letters on the same subject were sent by the Mutasaddi to Jairam Patel and Bapu Patel with Shaikh Madar. The copy of the translation of the letter that has been produced is undoubtedly the translation of my letter. I did not inform the Government of my reply to the Mutasaddi's letter and also about the development of events....."[1]

A Gist of the Statement of Raja Deeb Singh, son of Neel Singh, Jagirdar of Kowlas, Convict No. 558.

Deeb Singh, the convict, stated that he was not acquainted with Rang Rao, the agent of Nana. He had neither given four annas daily to the said Brahman nor any cash to Kasi Ram. He had been put behind the prison bars for more than a year and three months. During that period he was released for about two months on condition that he should put down looters. But again he was imprisoned and was serving his sentence at the moment of recording the evidence. Shaikh Madar visited Kowlas in the month of Safar 1275 Hijri. It was reported that about this time the agent of Nana Saheb had come to Kowlas. Later, he returned to Deglur, and was staying at the Durgah of Masthan Saheb in Deglur. Here Nana's agent appears to have distributed pamphlets and tried to raise an army. The convict did not keep the Government informed thereof as he did not think it of much importance.[2]

A Gist of the Statement of Shaik Madar, an Employee of Safdar-ud-Dowla, Convict No. 559.

He stated that two letters, one addressed to Babu Patel and the other to Jairam Patel, were given to him by Safdar-ud-Daula for being properly delivered at the village of Halli.

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.
2. *Ibid.*

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He went there and delivered both the letters to Jairam. He could not get any reply as Jairam's son was not present. After staying there for three days he returned to Kowlas and there a Brahman, an agent of Nana, made an offer of service to him but he declined to accept the same and returned to the village of Halli. He saw that Brahman for the first time in the house of the Patel. Then after receiving replies to Safdar-ud-Daula's letters he returned to the city.[1]

A Gist of the Statement of Kasi Ram, son of Bahadur Singh, Convict No. 560

The convict stated that he was an eye-witness to the distribution of Sadabarat by Rang Rao, the agent of Nana Saheb, at the Raja's Devdi. Rang Rao had a talk with Raja Saheb but he was unaware of the subject of their talk. The Raja Saheb arranged for his dwelling in the house of a Brahman Joshi. Ramesar Rao, Vittal Rao, Karnam Parkal, Baswant Rao, son of Waji Karnam of Nilekar, and Bakhtawar Singh all met the agent and enquired about his credentials. Everyone had the impression that he had brought a *hundi* for five to ten thousand rupees for raising an army of two thousand soldiers. The agent of Nana Saheb had informed them that the amount would be brought from Hyderabad. After that he (the Witness) proceeded to Halli village and met the Raja Saheb thrice.[2]

A Gist of the Statement of Santaji Rao, son of Ram Rao Vinayak Dhadki, Convict No. 561

The convict stated that at Kowlas Jairam Bhatt Joshi's house was situated opposite to his house. Five other Joshis lived in that house. Rang Rao, the agent, also stayed at that house for 15 or 20 days. The said Joshis were the Pujaris of the Raja of Kowlas. They spoke about Rang Rao to the Raja Saheb. Rang Rao told the accused that he had the orders of Nana Saheb with him. Nana Saheb had ordered that 5,000 horsemen and 10,000 soldiers should be employed for fighting against the English and putting them to death. Of course, he did not see those orders. Rang Rao told him that the Raja Saheb was paying him four annas daily. He was not aware of the negotiations between Rang Rao and the Raja Saheb. After some days Rang Rao proceeded to Halli village on a pony.[3]

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*

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A Gist of the Statement of Lal Mohammad s/o Shaikh Nadeed, Convict No. 562.

The convict stated that a Brahman whose name was not known to him came to Kowlas and announced himself to be the agent of Nana Saheb. He stayed for one month at Kowlas. Kasi Ram Jamedar, Venkoba, a Resident of Kowlas and Waji Patel of Nilekar all assembled together and discussed the problem of raising an army. They sent for Naseeb Khan Jamedar in order to employ the Rohillas. The Jamadar demanded the payment of salary in advance but as the said Brahman had no amount, he could not concede his demand. The Rajah of Kowlas was also a party to this plan and he had ordered Kasi Ram to help the agent in his activities. Kasi Ram could not raise an army for want of funds. Raja Saheb sent his message to Kasi Ram with his servant Katali. The same man brought the reply to Raja Saheb.[1]

A Gist of the Statement of Raghnath Waji s/o Waji Gopal, Patwari of Nilekar, Convict No. 563.

The convict stated that a person named Rang Rao, agent of Nana Saheb, had come to Kowlas. The Raja Saheb while agreeing to his mission took steps for raising an army. The said agent perhaps visited Kowlas in the month of Rabi-ul-Awwal and had stated that the letter of Nana Saheb lay hidden behind a mirror. The name of the addressee and the place of his residence were not known to the agent himself. He (the convict) gathered this information from his son Baswant Rao who was a friend of the agent. The agent told him that he stayed for about one month at the houses of Kasi Ram and Siddiah Naik in Kowlas. Both had their connection with the Raja. During his stay at Kowlas, the agent met the Naik of Broky and the Naik of Shapurgaon. He had an intention of raising an army with the help of Kasi Ram. His ambition was to invade Deglur and Madnur and capture the 'gadhi' but that plan did not materialise. The agent resided in Kasi Ram's house for 20 days and after that proceeded to Homnabad with a view to meeting Manik Prabhu. From there he set out for Ankalaska village, Pargane Nilanga, to meet Bande Ali Patel and from there he went to Omerga village. The letters which Bande Ali Patel sent to him were written in Marathi. In one of them he had stated that the person who had letters,

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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etc., was Rang Rao. In the other he had informed that he was going to Maharaj Manik Prabhu to which the convict had replied that he could not come. Bande Ali Patel after attending the Malegaon Jatra came to him. The agent of Nana Saheb was raising an army at Kowlas. One day a person came to summon Rang Rao. After that Bande Ali accompanied by Rang Rao went away.[1]

A Gist of the Statement of Jairam Patel s/o Lingoji Patel of Halli Village, Convict No. 564.

Jairam Patel stated that his son named Babu, an agent of the Deshmukh of Hanagaon, had been to Safdar-ud-Daula in the month of Safar 1275 Hijri. He had previous acquaintance with Safdar-ud-Daula. After his return he told him (Jairam Patel) that Safdar-ud-Daula could not visit his jagir as his life was in danger due to his enmity with the Rohillas. He had forwarded an agreement under his seal to two Jamadars. The convict prohibited his son from taking part in those activities. Meanwhile, he received a letter from Safdar-ud-Daula asking him to send a reply to Gulab Khan. Safdar-ud-Daula intended to raise an army of 25,000 soldiers comprising of Arabs and Rohillas but expressed in his letter that he could not meet the Rohillas and had not made any truce with them. Meanwhile, he fell ill. The person deputed by Nana Saheb was a Hakeem. The convict came to him for his treatment and stayed with him for fifteen days. The agent used to say that an army was being raised at Kowlas under the orders of the Raja Saheb of Kowlas. The said agent was in the service of Nana Saheb and Baja Bai and had come from the North for raising an army. With the help and co-operation of the Raja Saheb of Kowlas 700 persons had been recruited by that time. For raising funds he had been to Sina Naik of Berki. Waji was the agent of the said Naik. Waji's son, the agent of Nana and Shaik Madar had gone to Kowlas. The agent of Nana also stated to the convict that the Raja Saheb of Kowlas had given him shelter and had asked Kasi Ram to arrange for his residence, food and dress. The convict also stated that he had received two letters from Safdar-ud-Daula, one of which was lost and the other was safe and secure. Safdar-ud-Daula had not sent any letter to the agent of Nana along with the letters addressed to him. The convict was not aware whether any letter was

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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sent by Safdar-ud-Dowla separately to the agent. The convict pleaded that due to illness his memory was weak and so he asked for detailed particulars to be ascertained from his son.[1]

A Gist of the Statement of Babu Patel, son of Jairam Patel of Halli Village, Convict No. 565

The convict stated that he came to the city in connection with a case pertaining to the Deshmukh of Maigaon and that he met Safdar-ud-Daula. Safdar-ud-Daula told him that he could not visit his jagir due to the fear of the Rohillas. If any Rohilla Jamadar would assure him of his safety he would employ him and go along with him to the Patel's jagir. The convict stated that after his return to his native place he could not contact any Rohilla and informed Safdar-ud-Daula accordingly. Twenty days later Shaikh Madar came and delivered a letter from Safdar-ud-Daula, which contained a complaint that arrangement had so far not been made in that connection. After delivering the letter Shaik Madar proceeded to Kowlas and returned after a week accompanied by a Brahman named Rang Rao. The Brahman styled himself a Hakeem and had come from Madhapur. The convict learnt from Shaik Madar that the said Brahman had been sent by Nana Saheb. On enquiry the said Brahman told him that he (the Brahman) had come from Nana Saheb for recruiting people to army service. He was staying with the Raja Saheb of Kowlas and he was paid four annas daily towards his meals. The Raja Saheb had ordered that people should be persuaded to raise a large army with the help of Kasi Ram. Kasi Ram had been appointed as Risaldar to perform the duties of enrolment and that so far five to six hundred persons had been recruited. The agent also told the convict that he had a letter addressed to Safar-ud-Daula, which he would deliver personally.

The convict wrote to inform Safdar-ud-Daula of his inability to find a suitable person as desired by him in his letter. In another he informed him that an agent of Nana Saheb had come to him and that he was having a letter addressed to the Daula. The details could be had through that letter. After that Shaik Madar and the agent both proceeded to Kowlas. From there Shaik Madar went to Hyderabad.

Safdar-ud-Daula wrote a letter for a second time and that was the letter which had been produced. The convict re-

1. *Ibid.*

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plied that no Jamadar could be contacted. He was also not having any pony.

The convict stated that the agent of Nana Saheb had proceeded to Nilekar. Others reported to him that he had gone to the city. The said Brahman kept in his custody a letter addressed to Safdar-ul-Daula. He had met the Naiks of Savergaon, Vasatoli, Madhapur and Burki. He possessed nothing except a pony. The agent had further stated that he had a *hundi* with him but he did not mention the amount for which it was made out. The convict also stated that he had met the said agent at Kowlas in the month of Rabi-ul-awwal 1275 Hijri. At that time the agent resided in his house as already stated. He had said that he was enrolling people for army service on behalf of Nana Saheb.[1]

* * *

The following is the gist of the judgment delivered in this case by the High Court of Hyderabad:—

1. The statement of Ranga Rao, the agent of Nana, reveals that he had brought the letter of Nana addressed to Safdar-ul-Dowla and Gulab Khan Jamedar, (who resided at Kowlas since a long time and had indulged in looting). The letter addressed to Gulab Khan was properly delivered by Rang Rao but the letter addressed to Convict No. 557 was lost. The orders that he had brought with him were shown to the accused Nos. 558, 563, 564, 565, and others. Rang Rao gave instructions for causing disturbances and to rise in revolt. He wrote two letters to Convict No. 557. In this second letter he had asked Convict No. 557 to reach Kowlas and help the rioters with supporters.

2. Safdar-ud-Dowla, Convict No. 557, has confessed that he received the letter of the first deponent which was about causing disturbances and recruitment of soldiers. The other letter which was addressed to convicts Nos. 564 and 565 asked for enlisting the services of Kalan Khan and others rioters. He also admitted that Nana's letter was addressed to him. The convict also admitted that he had communicated his willingness to cause disturbances and that he did not inform the Government about those activities. The convict, in his statement, also affirmed that he had willingly participated in the movement and that he had himself de-

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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sired that. He had posed himself as the leader of the gang of rebels.

3. The Raja of Kowlas, Convict No. 558, pleaded his ignorance about the agent of Nana. He, however, confessed that Kasi Ram, Convict No. 560, stayed at Kowlas for 2½ months and that Shaikh Madar, Convict No. 559, visited Kowlas in the month of Safar and that the agent of Nana had brought some pamphlets and raised an army. He further confessed that in spite of coming to know of such incidents he did not inform the Government.

4. Shaikh Madar, Convict No. 559, confesses that he conveyed the letters as mentioned in Para 2 and that he conversed with the agent of Nana at Kowlas.

5. The statement of Kasi Ram, Convict No. 560, reveals that Rang Rao, the agent, had come to Kowlas and met the Raja thrice. The Raja had arranged for his residence at the house of Joshi Pujari, through his old servant Karangi (who was not produced before the Court in spite of the Court's insistence). The convict also stated that some persons met the agent in that house and consulted him on the subject of raising of an army. The proposals could not be implemented as the agent had no money.

6. Santaji, Convict No. 561, stated that the said agent stayed at Kowlas for 20 days with the Joshis as a guest of the Raja of Kowlas and he had learnt from the said agent that he received four annas daily from the Raja of Kowlas. He stated that the Joshis told him that the agent used to meet the Raja of Kowlas and that he had proceeded to Halli, after residing at Kowlas during the above-mentioned period.

7. The statement of Lal Mohammed, Convict No. 562, reveals that the agent lived at Kowlas for one month without revealing his identity. Kasi Ram, Convict No. 560, stated that Karangi conveyed to him the instructions of the Raja of Kowlas for making arrangements and that the agent also took part along with the Raja in raising an army. But as the agent had no funds with him the Rohillas evaded joining him.

8. The statement of Raghunath, Convict No. 563, reveals that his son Baswant Rao was a friend of the agent. The agent stayed at Kowlas for one and a half months and

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the Raja confessed that he was engaged in raising an army. The Raja had instructed Kasi Ram, Convict No. 560, and Moti Ram, (who was causing disturbance), for raising an army. It is also gathered that the agent stayed with him for 8 days and then proceeded to Homnabad to see the Naik. From Homnabad the agent went to Omerga along with Bande Ali Patel of Ankalska village.

9. Jairam Patel, Convict No. 564, and Babu Patel Convict No. 565, son of Jairam, who received orders, letter, and message as has been mentioned at para 2, stated that the agent stayed at their house for 15 days and disclosed about the assistance given to him by the Raja of Kowlas. Babu Patel confesses that he met the agent at Kowlas in the month of Rabiul-awwal and co-operated with the agent in his activities.

10. In view of the confession made by Safdar-ul-Dowla, as mentioned at para 2, Safdar-ud-Dowla was declared to be the real culprit of the disturbances and as such all his property, movable and immovable, had to be confiscated and he has been awarded life-time imprisonment.

11. Although Rajah Deeb Singh, Convict No. 558, refutes his participation in the conspiracy and pleads his ignorance about Rang Rao, the agent of Nana, yet the statements reviewed at paras 1 and 4 reveal that the agent stayed at Kowlas for about a month and the Raja met the agent and arranged for his food, etc. Although it was not fully revealed that he endeavoured in the furtherance of the aims and activities of Rang Rao, yet there was no doubt about his knowing the presence of Rang Rao and the orders of Nana Saheb that were brought by him. It is possible that due to his silent nature he might have kept quiet and allowed a chance to the rioters to carry on their activities. It is also quite possible that he did not inform the Government purposely and wanted to derive some benefit out of this. Information gathered from other sources reveals that he had his hand in the dacoity committed by Gulab Khan Jamadar and also in the looting at Nilanga. Gulab Khan was the same person to whom Nana sent a letter by his agent (*vide* documents Nos. 13 and 14). The Raja of Kowlas did not arrest Rang Rao, the agent, in spite of having the power to do so and he also did not inform the Government about him. As such Rajah Deeb Singh is found guilty of concealing the crime

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and taking part in the disturbance. He is therefore sentenced to imprisonment for three years. Government is, however, empowered to take a decision about the confiscation of his personal property and the discontinuance of the grant being enjoyed by him.

12. Although Shaikh Madar, Convict No. 559, was found guilty of concealing the crime yet due to the nature of his employment he was compelled to do so and as such he is sentenced to imprisonment for only one year.

13. Kasi Ram, Convict No. 560, was found guilty of abetting the said agent in his activities. The statement of Witness No. 1 and the statements of Convicts Nos. 562 and 563 reveal that he took part in the dacoity and the disturbance. It was also proved that he collaborated with Rang Rao. He is, therefore, sentenced to be imprisoned for five years with fetters and after the termination of the period he should be released on the execution of a bond for good behaviour.

14. Nothing was proved against Santaji, accused No. 561, and Lal Mohammed, accused No. 562.

15. Raghunath, accused No. 563, gave shelter to the said agent and in spite of being aware of the agent's intention for causing disturbance, he did not inform the Government about it. He is sentenced to three years imprisonment. His property should be confiscated and he should be removed from service.

16. Jairam and Babu, accused Nos. 564 and 565, were proved guilty of maintaining secrecy about the correspondence and the exchange of verbal messages between accused No. 557 and the said agent and of concealing their crime. They harboured the agent in their house and worked for his cause. They are, therefore, sentenced to undergo imprisonment for .....years. Their property should be confiscated and they should be removed from service.

17. Some of the accused mentioned above were not present and as such judgment about them was deferred.

18. After going through the law relating to political crimes the court feels that such punishments had to be awarded in order to set an example to others and to see that the country was saved from disturbances of this kind in future.[1]

1. From unpublished correspondence preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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Such then was the end of the conspiracy started by Ranga Rao under the instructions of Nana Saheb Peshwa. It shows how deep the feeling of disaffection against the British had spread even among the commoner people like Ranga Rao, the Patwari of a small village, and his humbler associates. Ranga Rao died in the Andamans and his name would have been forgotten but for the papers unearthed from the Hyderabad Government's archives, which throw a glowing light on the patriotic activities of this remarkable man.

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Chapter IX

POPULAR RESENTMENT AGAINST THE BRITISH

The Contingent troops, which had been sent to the North, returned to the Deccan in August 1858, after having taken part in the operations at Jhansi, Kalpi, Gwalior and other places. The Resident, Colonel Davidson, paid a visit to Calcutta in February 1859. He returned from this visit on the evening of 8th March, 1859. He was to present a kharita from the Governor-General to the Nizam on the 15th of March. He arrived at the Nizam's palace at 11 a.m. After his interview with the Nizam he took leave and left the palace, accompanied by Salar Jung, the Minister. When both of them had gained the courtyard, Jahangir Khan attacked the Resident with a carbine. Captain Hastings Fraser, the 2nd Assistant to the Resident, who was present at the time, gives the following account of the incident:—

"On returning from durbar, close to the room in which this interview had taken place, a native, said to be from Hindustan, discharged a carbine and wounded one of the minister's attendants, and then, drawing his sword, rushed upon Colonel Davidson and the minister, who at this moment were walking arm-in-arm in conversation with each other. I drew my sword and threw myself before Colonel Davidson, but fortunately the assassin was intercepted by the minister's dependants, and cut down. Had the man attempted to pass me, I should there and then have cut him down, but seeing that several of the minister's attendants were cutting at him, I refrained from joining them, and Colonel Davidson observed to me afterwards, that it was fortunate I had done so, as most probably the crowd, who were all armed to the teeth, would have become excited at seeing the Feringhee killing a Mohammedan, and would have fallen on the whole of the staff, and thus all our lives might have been sacrificed. There can be little doubt, Colonel Davidson reported, that (the assailant) shared in the fanatical feeling of the period against all Europeans throughout the country, and that he had expected, by the destruction of the Resident or the minister, to gain for himself the envied title of Ghazi (champion of the faith)!

The Nizam recalled the party to durbar, and though he appeared agitated, displayed no want of presence of mind,

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Addressing himself to the minister, he observed: 'I desire that you will institute the most searching inquiry into this affair.' He then invited the Resident and staff to retire for a short time into a private garden adjoining the hall of audience, where they remained for above half an hour. The Nizam's whole retinue was then called out to accompany the Resident and staff to the Residency, where they arrived in safety. The minister and Shumsh-ool-Oomrah's sons kept near them to the last; and it is almost unnecessary to add, that the Hyderabad Government felt considerable anxiety as to the manner in which the occurrence might be viewed by the Government of India.

In due course a despatch was received from the Governor-General, in which he warmly congratulated the Resident on his escape. He was satisfied to observe the anxious concern with which the crime had been regarded, not only by His Highness the Nizam and his minister, but by the whole of the Hyderabad court. The conduct of His Highness had been dignified and calm, and the measures taken by the minister prompt and judicious. At the same time Lord Canning warned the Nizam that the event could not be regarded as one of slight moment. The British Government, he said, held the person of its representative sacred from all insult and violence, and to no court which could not give protection to the representative of the Governor-General, would his Excellency trust the life and honour of a British officer. Accordingly, the Nizam was requested to take the most vigorous measures to prevent the recurrence of so lamentable an act as that which had been perpetrated, and the durbar was clearly informed that they were held responsible for the safety of the British Resident within the Nizam's dominions. The Resident's measures in countermanding the troops which had turned out at Secunderabad on the first alarm reaching that station was approved, and the thanks of the Government of India conveyed to the officers and gentlemen who formed the Resident's suite."[1]

Briggs in his book *The Nizam,* which was published in 1861, *i.e.,* only two years after the incident, gives the following account of the incident:—

"Upon the Resident gaining the courtyard, after walking out of the durbar room arm-in-arm with Salar Jung, the Minister, and attended by their respective suites, one

1. *Our Faithful Ally, the Nizam* by Captain Hastings Fraser, pp. 302-304.

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Jehangeer Khan, a Rohilcund Patan, discharged the contents of a carbine loaded with slugs at Colonel Davidson, which fortunately missed him, and then the fellow advanced upon the Colonel with a drawn sword. The firing and advancing were the work of a moment, but, like a flash of lightning, the next moment swords flew from their scabbards; Captain Hastings Fraser, the second assistant to the Resident, with naked sabre, passed in front of his chief to shield him from any further murderous intent, and that gallant deed was responded by the followers of the Minister, who at once fell upon the miscreant and cut him to the ground. Two of the slugs, after passing Colonel Davidson, hit the right thigh of one of the dewan's retinue, who had been walking immediately behind Colonel Briggs, the military secretary: the injury was instantly attended to by Dr. Smith, the Residency surgeon. Meanwhile the noise attending the scuffle, and the unusual uproar of the great crowd which collects on these diplomatic occasions, alarmed the Nizam, who returned to his reception room, into which the Resident had been drawn from the crowd. The Nizam expressed great solicitude for Colonel Davidson; his concern was manifest not only in his face, but by the orders he issued without the intervention of official of any kind. He summoned his bodyguard, and required the prompt incarceration of the associates of the villain whose life had paid for the audacity of his offence. In the course of an hour Colonel Davidson was induced to return to the Residency upon the entreaties of the Nizam, escorted by his Highness's household troops, and accompanied by two members of the family of Shums-ool-Oomrah, as hostages for the safe conduct of Colonel Davidson and his suite. So they quitted the durbar; but the entire way that they passed through the city, every available patch of ground, whether inside or outside, or on the top of house, upon which a human being could stand and see the passing procession, was occupied; and willing as the most benevolently-disposed may be to believe that this immense mass of humanity was influenced partly by curiosity and partly by sympathy for the intended victim, there were, I am told, in this mass, faces that did scowl as well as sneer at the British retinue, and hearts regretting the frustrated issue of the adventure of that morning. Jehangeer, the poor wretch, who was slaughtered by the dewan's followers, was a fanatic with a previous bad character, but was at this time in the employ of Tegh Jung, the son of Ikhtidhar-ool-Moolk and grandson of Shums-ool-Oomrah, whose mother was the

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sister of the late Nizam: his family is otherwise connected with the present Nizam by several intermarriages.

This incident was reported a few days after by the Resident to Lord Canning, and elicited a reply from Mr. R. Simson, Under-Secretary to the Government of India, dated Fort William, the 2nd April, 1859, No. 1511, for the following extract from which I am indebted to his Excellency Salar Jung:

'I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, dated the 19th ultimo, No. 40, and, in reply, to acquaint you that the Governor-General in Council has read with deep interest the account given therein of the event which occurred upon the occasion of your visit to the Nizam on the 15th idem.

2. His Excellency in Council congratulates you warmly upon your providential escape from the attempt which has been made upon your life.

3. Whether it was your life alone that was sought may be uncertain, but the fact that the shot was fired when you were arm-in-arm with Nizam's minister, and not at the minister singly, although he had been lately within the assassin's easy reach, is sufficient proof that you were the chief, if not the only object of his violence.

4. It is satisfactory to the Governor-General in Council to observe the anxious concern with which this atrocious crime was regarded, not only by the Nizam and his ministers, who acted in accordance with the well-proved friendship which his Highness has habitually evinced towards the British Government, but by the whole of his Highness's court and retinue, and by a great part of the populace of Hyderabad.

5. All that you describe the Nizam to have done upon this occasion redounds to his Highness's honour; his Highness's conduct has been dignified and calm, and the measures taken through his ministers were, so far as they went, prompt and judicious.

6. But the Governor-General in Council, speaking in all friendship, desires to warn the Nizam that the event of the 15th ultimo is no light matter. The British Government holds the person of its representative sacred from all

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insult or violence. To no court which cannot give protection to the representative of the Governor-General will his Excellency trust the life and honour of a British Officer. It therefore behoves the Nizam, in order that no cause for an interruption of the present relations of the two Governments may occur, to take the most vigorous measures to prevent the recurrence of so lamentable an act as that which has now been perpetrated.

7. The criminal is beyond the reach of justice. It may be that he was a single fanatic, without instigators or accomplices. But it is incumbent upon the Nizam's Government to use the utmost diligence to ascertain whether this be so or not; and if there should be reason to suppose that others remain who are actuated by the same spirit and entertain like designs, to take precautions accordingly. It must be clearly understood by the Durbar that they are responsible for the safety of the British Resident within the Nizam's territory.' "[1]

Jehangir Khan died of his wounds shortly. He had denied that he had harboured any intention of killing the Resident and had given unsatisfactory explanations on other points. That he should have had the courage to attack the Resident and the Minister in the palace of the Nizam presupposes the existence of an organized conspiracy.

Such attacks were frequent at the time. In the month of April, 1859, the following incident occurred at Kokatpally near Hyderabad:—

"*Englishman,* May 3, 1859:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 20th April:

'On the 18th instant an attack was made at Kokeetapilly on Captain Macintire, a distinguished officer, by a horseman of the Ressala of the Hyderabad Contingent, which he commands. The Ressala had just returned from doing good service in the field, and was encamped at the abovenamed place, one march distant from its cantonment, Bolarum. The assassin made a cut at him with his sword, which he received on his arm, not a severe wound, and then running amuck wounded the Ressaladar severely, and three men of the Ressala. He fled towards the gate of the village,

1. *The Nizam* by H. G. Briggs, Vol. II, pp. 52-55.

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near which he was brought down by a shot, and being still alive was tried by a drumhead court-martial, and hanged upon the spot. The man was in the habit of smoking opium, and had no accomplice, nor is any reason assigned for the attack on his commanding officer.' "[1]

After these incidents the Resident made enquiries and discovered that some persons, who were imbued with feelings of hostility towards the British, tried to influence the Nizam against the British. They were (1) Azmat Jung, (2) Mirdha Chand, (3) Baz Khan and (4) Maulavi Ibrahim. References to these persons in contemporary papers will throw light on the action taken against them:—

(1)

"A third measure is now depending, of not less import than those I have described. The Resident, Colonel Davidson, requires the Nizam to dismiss those persons from his court and capital who, being of his household and much about him, have shown themselves openly hostile to the English, and are supposed to have used their influence with the Nizam to mislead him. Of these, four in number, Azmut Jung is the most prominent in rank and influence: It is he who has impressed upon the Nizam that the English Government, in collusion with his brother, Roshun-ood-Dowla, have sinister designs against His Highness personally, and at moments considered favourable by him for acting against the English he has openly appeared, if I may so express myself, in the field, serving out ammunition to his men and preparing himself as if for action. The next man is Mirdachand, the head of one of the two sections of His Highness's Chobdars, and by his position much about the person of the Nizam, which has given him opportunities so to ingratiate himself with his master as to have carried him not unfrequently to the closet. This man is a noted bigot. He was one of the insurgents that attacked the Residency on the 17th July, 1857. He went to Bolarum, the cantonment of the Contingent, to assist the mutineers who had wounded Brigadier McKenzie. He was the friend and patron of Jehangeer Khan, the assassin of the other day. The next is one Boz Khan, a burly Pattan, who has everywhere, without concealment, used threats and defiance addressed as much to the Resident personally as to the English generally. He resided opposite to a boundary wall of the Residency, and

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 233.

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his house, if circumstances admitted, was to have been the concealed resort of insurgents, as affording a good opportunity to attack the Residency by surprise. The fourth is one Moulvie Ibrahim, a Sunnite, a man conspicuous amongst Mahomedans for religious zeal, always to be best noted in their hatred of everything that is beside them. The Moulvie, a Sunnite, hates the Sheas, or Sheites, no less than he abhors the English. He took the lead in the Meccan Mosque during the administration of Suraj-ool-Mulk when the Sunnites, for the love of the three Caliphs, thought proper to murder a dozen or two of Sheas, of course under the sanctified guarantee against sin of a standard of faith. Of this Moulvie I know of no overt act, but it is said of him that his seditious talk is not less frequent than his *cullamas*, often as they may be repeated.

It was impossible that these men could be allowed to remain about the person of the Nizam—indeed, to remain unpunished. Our quiescence would have been symptomatic of a timid policy, more dangerous in the end than any result which could proceed from a bolder course, although it led to extremity; for then, as in the other case, we should not be taken with our eyes shut. I have no doubt of the Resident carrying out this measure; it cannot be permitted to be arrested in a middle course by any sort of composition; the accomplishment is necessary to discourage other parties from following the footsteps of these leaders. I have said these were the prominent men. After that it is hardly necessary to say that others are linked with them and pursuing the same course, and their impunity would have served to bring these forward, and to diminish the state of security, such as it is, in which we are now placed here. The carrying of these three measures will improve our security, and regain our seemingly lost influence, the apparent restoration of which, for it has not really been lost, would be of little value were it not that it will tend to repress disorder in the country, and to put down conspiracies and misrepresentations made to the Nizam, with the hostile view of separating him from our interests.

I am sorry to say the Nizam has been a little difficult on this question, and, though it is progressing toward a termination such as we desire, it is not finally closed. I believe there is nothing in His Highness's mind but a childlike partiality for toy, perhaps some notion that his dignity is

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concerned in maintaining his servants. His Highness ought to be informed, as he has carried a considerable acerbity of temper into the matter, that there is a possibility of his motives being judged with greater harshness than I judge them. He should be taught by his counsellors and his friends that maintaining the enemies of the English about himself is, in fact, assuming an hostile attitude. Whatever His Highness's motives may be, the English cannot for the future but put themselves, if they do nothing more, in an attitude of the utmost vigilance in regard to His Higness's conduct and actions. With the propinquity of the Subsidiary Force to the capital of His Highness, with almost every man in it disaffected towards the English, and their active enemies allowed to go rampant, they are called on in common prudence to take precautions to guard themselves against treachery. They cannot allow such a state of things to be in the capital of the Nizam, and go to sleep and have the scenes of Meerut and Delhi re-enacted in the cantonment of Secunderabad, though by a different set of actors. His Highness should be taught that if he refuse the requisition of the English Government for the deportation of its enemies, he, not his Government, incurs personal responsibility. We have seen recently an attempt to assassinate the Resident; what if a similar attempt should follow at the instigation—I will bring the point within a narrow compass—of any of these proscribed men? The responsibility would fall heavily upon the Nizam, even if, allowing overt acts of hostility to go unpunished and unrepressed, as in the case of these men, the attempted assassination should proceed from others than the four men the objects of the present proscription."[1]

(2)

"*Englishman,* May 3, 1859:—The following is from Hyderabad dated the 20th April:—

'Of the four men whose expulsion from this court and capital had been officially asked for by the British Government, two, Baz Khan and Moulvie Ibrahim, have left to go and reside at their jagheers; the two others are using subterfuges to retard their departure, but as the Nizam had conceded the point it cannot be postponed much longer.

Last Thursday was fixed for the departure of the whole, but Moulvie Ibrahim, having solicited from His Highness

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 231-232.

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permission to remain to say his Friday prayers in the Mecca Mosque, was permitted to remain till Saturday, but was enjoined to pray in any mosque but the Mecca. Rumours began to prevail of a general rising on that day. Every man could tell you that he had heard so, but no man could give you any fact or any reason for his belief excepting that it was generally so rumoured. That His Highness had some such impression was to be seen in his injunction to Moulvi Ibrahim not go to the Mecca Mosque; and that the Minister was not regardless of the rumour was to be found in the circumstance that he posted a party of troops in the Mecca Mosque to preserve order, and sent a small detachment of Sikhs to the vicinity of the Residency for its protection. The Resident made no movement, which was in so much satisfactory to his neighbours, being considered the expression of his opinion that there was no great chance of danger. The circumstances of the country may be gathered from the fact of the prevalence of such rumours occasionally, and the credit, though partial, which they acquire, even among the best-informed. The fact is every Mahomedan at this capital desires his neighbour should rise against the English, but is unwilling to do so himself. We must be content with this state of imperfect security till we are satisfied that, by making severe examples, we have frightened them into subjection, and repressed cabals and conspiracies. It has been discovered that the late Rajah Bal Kishen, the highest officer of the Nizam's household, paymaster and one of his treasurers, corresponded with one of Nana's emissaries. This is an index to point to the fact that many others such as this man will yet be discovered.' "[1]

(3)

"*Englishman*, May 23, 1859:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 9th instant:—

'Azmut Jung, pressed upon with some severity by the Nizam, and threatened with forcible expulsion from his capital, quitted it on the night of the 3rd instant; he is now in a suburb of the city, and it is said will move towards his destination in a day or two.' "[2]

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 232.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

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(4)

"*Englishman,* April 13, 1860:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 30th March:—

'You may recollect that about a year ago four persons who possessed influence with the Nizam, and used it hostilely towards the English Government, were, at the instance of the Resident, exiled from the capital and ordered to reside on their estates (jagheers). His Highness has been uneasy upon this subject ever since, and it was a concession, though perhaps not due to His Highness, proper to be made to permit their return to the capital. The sanction from the English Government was given under the condition of certain restraints being imposed upon them, the terms were accepted, and messengers were sent the day before yesterday to recall them to the capital, but the Nizam mistakingly directed that their return should be the occasion of an ovation. This of course could not be permitted, and the Resident has properly put in a demurrer to their immediate return, stating that criminals could not be allowed to return in triumph. The question will be referred to the Viceroy, if the Nizam does not, in the meantime, make such concession as is required, which I rather think he will do. This was plainly a proper measure. The English Government could not permit its pardoned enemies and criminals to return triumphant to the capital of its ally, over whom—if not by right, by prescriptive usage—it holds paramount authority.'"[1]

(5)

"*Englishman,* May 9, 1860:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 24th April, 1860:—'We have had an event of much interest here, rendered more so by its incidence. I have informed you that the four men exiled for their hostility to the English Government, seditious practices in all, and overt acts of insurrection and rebellion in one, Mirda Chand, who by his official duties stood nearest to the Nizam, were permitted by the Resident to return to the capital at the instance of His Highness the Nizam, but under stipulation that they should not be allowed admission to the presence, privately or publicly. The Nizam, in spite of the judicious advice of the only man, the Minister, who alone seems to understand the personal interests of His Highness and of the State,

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 240.

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was pertinacious to recall them, and as much so to restore them to his Court and his favour. This made no small sensation, for it was seen that His Highness was acting in this matter without the Resident and his Minister, and that it was a contention for power with the former and appeared likely to prevail. The Mussulman party considered itself triumphant, and was proportionately supercilious. 'They were His Highness's servants and subjects; this was his country, who could prevent his showing favour to them?' If there had been nothing besides this insolence it ought to have been repressed, but there is always fear of the next step, and the Resident very properly addressed an official note to the Minister to the effect that it was not a well-advised measure in the Nizam to appear by his acts to be clandestinely the friend of our enemies. This was sharp. The Nizam for some days seemed to disregard it, and to such comments as could be made upon the ill-advisedness of the measure you receive nothing from the supercilious Mahomedan but the contemptuous *dooroost*. Suddenly, on the evening of the 17th instant, the Minister received a peremptory order forthwith to expel two of the leading rebels. His Highness (it was the Ramzan) had been fasting, and gave force to his injunction by adding that he would not break his fast till they had quitted his capital. The order was, without delay, carried into effect, and the Resident was directed to attend the court next day. As all these proceedings had been taken without any notice to the Minister, it was seen that there was some large design affecting him on hand, and that His Highness, under encouragement from a party, was going to make a deep plunge, apparently, *coute que coute*.

His Highness, the intended visit of the Resident being the first after his attempted assassination in March last year, took unusual precaution to guard his safety. The Resident, it would seem, was aware of the proposal His Highness intended to make and seeing him backward to bring the subject upon the *tapis* determined upon giving him the opportunity to do so. This could not have been from any motive to agitate a disagreeable question, but to put His Highness right upon many matters which were misrepresented to him, and to prevent for the future his unnecessary, frivolous, and mistaken jarrings with his Minister. He begged to know if His Highness had any orders for him. His Highness evaded the question by a civil speech about the Governor-General's health, and his desire that the friendship between the two

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States might subsist for ever. The Nizam did not make his motion; the Resident addressed him shortly in commendation of the Minister, and it is to be hoped that the question is put to rest. I do not, however, expect it to be finally so, and it would seem to me to be as well if the Nizam were put in possession of the views of our Government before he made any movement which should bring upon him disappointment and mortification.

The reason assigned for the sudden expulsion of the two men is the Nizam's desire to propitiate the Resident, and to dispose him to accede to his proposal. There was very little said at the audience, and that little is so variously described that I do not undertake to relate it. The least authentic version seems the most likely. The Minister has expressed himself satisfied with the conduct and expositions of the Resident, whatever they were. I am enabled to say upon good authority that the Resident observed to the Nizam that he was misinformed that he proposed measures to His Highness and reported to his Government under the influence of the Minister—that such was not the case. He reported matters within his own knowledge to his Government, and that whatever the Minister presented to His Highness proceeded directly from his Minister. This is all in all that was wanted, but then the Nizam's *judgement* will direct him, and much pains will be taken to bias that.' "[1]

The above incidents relating to the expulsion of Azmut Jung and others reveal the general feelings of resentment prevailing at the time against the English amongst all classes of the society in Hyderabad.

By this time the forces of Tatya Tope, Rao Saheb Peshwa and Feroz Shah had been broken up in Malwa. Feroz Shah left Central India and after wandering here and there he is supposed to have escaped to Persia. Rao Saheb Peshwa, separated from Tatya Tope, entered the Deccan with a few followers for inciting rebellions against the British in this part of the country. Tatya Tope continued the fight for long but owing to perfidy on the part of Mansing, one of his followers, he was arrested and after a brief trial hanged early in 1859. But in the Deccan conspiracies still continued. They were partly inspired by the followers of Tatya Tope and partly by people pretending to be from the royal family of Satara. As is well-known, Maharaja

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242.

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Pratap Singh, the Chatrapati of Satara, was deposed in 1839 and was sent to Banaras. Bala Saheb Senapati, his cousinn, and Military Officer, who always accompanied him, died near Indore in the year 1840. Pratap Singh was succeeded by his brother Appa Saheb, who ruled for a brief period of nine years. He died heirless and on his death the State of Satara was declared to have lapsed to the Government of India. It is curious that persons pretending to be descended from this family were moving about in the Deccan from 1858 to 1867. A reference to the arrest by Captain Murray of a person who called himself the Rajah of Satara has been made in the above pages. In the archives of the Hyderabad State, there are references to the Chatrapati of Satara as residing in the Muth at Paithan in letters written by the Resident. In the account of the conspiracy at Bhir, which will be described in the following pages, there is a reference to one Bala Saheb Senapathi of Satara having visited Bhir in 1858. Since Bala Saheb died in 1840, this person could only have been somebody going about under the name of Bala Saheb. In another conspiracy, which took place in 1867 at Bhalki in the Bidar district, there are references to Pratap Singh, the Chatrapati of Satara, under the name of Buwaji Raje and to Raja Venkat Rao, the adopted son of Appa Saheb, the last Chatrapati of Satara. Although these persons, who were supposed to be moving in the Deccan in 1858, were either dead by this time or were living away from the Deccan, it is obvious that, at this time, conspiracies against the British were being inspired by agents of the defunct family of Satara.

The conspiracy in Bhir took place in March 1859. There is a reference to this in *Hyderabad Affairs.*

"*Englishman,* June 25, 1859:—The following is from Hyderabad, dated the 8th instant:—

'Fourteen men from Beer have been taken up as being concerned in a conspiracy with the Nizam's agents. We shall find the conspirators and rebels so numerous that of a necessity we shall be obliged to close our eyes to the offence. But I hope the salutary measure of punishing some men of name and note, to procure for us a proper understanding of our motives, will not be wanting.

The trials of conspirators, of marauders, of accessories, and abettors of the one and the other, hang heavily.

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If it continue to do so, a remedy must and will be applied.' "[1]

The conspirators were put on trial. The details of the case are as follows:—

"On the 12th April Bleck wrote to Capt. Tornel to the following effect:—

'It appears that there were plans to start a rebellion on behalf of the Raja of Satara and that one Devrao Kishan, Wamanrao Kishan, and Vithalrao *alias* Ambaji, Deshmukhs of Bhir, Srinivas Sankerrao Deshpande, and Papamiya, son of Hafiz Ghulam Mustafa Khan, the Collector of Bhir, had joined the conspiracy. There are statements of Shanker Atmaram, Syed Chand and Wamanrao Vithal. It appears that a person known as Bala Saheb had resided for some time in Bhir with the idea of rebelling against the British. Bleck desires that sanguinary punishments be given to the conspirators. The person responsible for the arrest of the conspirators was Narayan Rao, agent of Ram Rao, the Taluqdar of Bhir. He arrested the following persons: (1) Hari Jairam, (2) Janoo, (3) Shanker Bhau, (4) Chotoo, (5) Papamiya, (6) Dhondi, etc. These arrests were effected on the basis of the paper received from Syed Chand. Shanker Atmaram stated in his deposition that one Tatiya Mudgal was trying to collect troops so that they could get the possession of the fortress of Kharda and then proceed to Satara. This collection of troops was to be done under the instructions of Bala Saheb who had turned a Gosavi (mendicant). Bala Saheb had come to Bhir and was staying in the house of Tatya Mudgal. Tatya Mudgal was also trying to raise money for this purpose by various means. There are statements from Syed Chand to this effect. It appears that Shanker had decided to recruit about 150 persons and had collected one maund of ammunition and seven seers of lead for this purpose. It had been decided to pay Rs. 15 p.m. to a soldier and Rs. 30 p.m. to a Jamadar. One Daji Khadlawala was also involved in the conspiracy. Papamiya, the son of the Collector Mustafa Khan, had also been approached to seek service with the conspirators. Shanker informed Syed Chand that he was the servant of Dhondo Baji Rao (Nana Saheb Peshwa) and was collecting troops. Shanker had also approached Rasul Khan, Rohilla, for raising troops. This had been achieved to some extent and men had collected

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. III, p. 234.

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in the Village Major Sanad in the Balaghat taluq. Papamiya in his statement denied any knowledge of the conspiracy and stated that he was lured into service for private purposes. Waman Rao Vithal in his statement refers to the conspiracy hatched by Daji Khadlawala, Shanker Atmaram and Tatya Mudgal. Tatya Mudgal had mortgaged his house to Eknath Govind for Rs. 2000 and with this amount he was trying to raise troops with the help of Rasul Khan and Bajori, a Rajput captain. The Court delivered its judgement on the 14th of October, 1859, commenting as follows:—

> "It appears that Shanker Atmaram, Tatya Mudgal, Balaji Gosavi and Daji Khadlawala had conspired to raise troops to capture the fortress of Khadla. They had taken Syed Chand in their service and had drawn up the terms of pay to be given to recruits to their cause. They had also contacted some Rajputs working under a captain by name Bajori. The conspiracy seems to have failed mainly due to lack of finance. The following punishment is awarded to the chief conspirators:—
>
> (1) Shanker Atmaram, (2) Daji Khadlawala and (3) Syed Chand are sentenced to 7 years rigorous imprisonment."

It may be added that Waman Rao Vithal, Lal Singh and Chotoo were sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment and Ghulam Nabi *alias* Papamiya was sentenced to 1 year's simple imprisonment.' "[1]

This was the fate of the conspirators in Bhir. A number of such minor conspiracies took place during that period. The reference to the Bhir Conspiracy has been made as an instance of the disaffection prevailing in the Deccan about this time.

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1. Extracted from File No. 24, dated November 30, 1859, preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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Chapter X

RAO SAHEB PESHWA'S SOJOURN IN HYDERABAD

By the end of the year 1859 major operations connected with the outbreak of 1857-58 had come to an end in the Deccan. In July 1860, the British Government made over to the Nizam the Samsthan of Shorapore, which had lapsed to the British Government after the death of Raja Venkatappa Naik, and restored also the districts of Raichur and Dharashiv (Osmanabad) to the Nizam. The debt of Rs. 50 lakhs due from the Nizam was also cancelled. Besides, a number of presents were made to the Nizam and to the officers of his court, on the 5th of October 1861. On June 25 the same year a new order of knighthood called the "*Star of India*" was instituted by the British Government and in the next month, the Nizam received this order from the Queen Empress of India. The confirmation of this order was made on the 31st of August 1861. On the 25th of November 1861, Colonel Davidson invested His Highness with the insignia. The acceptance by the Nizam of the insignia was deeply resented by the people. Typical of the expression of this resentment was a Persian placard which appeared at this time in the Nizam's palace and also in two mosques at Hyderabad[1]:—

"The original copies in Persian were placarded in the city of Hyderabad at the following places: One inside the Nizam's palace; others on each of the two mosques where Salar Jung and Shumsh-ool-Oomrah usually say their prayers; one on the new bridge, and finally one on the gateway of the city.

'The ruler of the Deccan and his officers are misinformed, and the veil of neglect is over their minds. May God Almighty grant His grace: The Dewan is intriguing and suggesting on behalf of the Company that it is advisable that the Star, Effigy, and the title of knighthood, which have been received from the Company for the ruler, should be accepted without objections. After a few days, in the event of their acceptance, a request will be made for the expulsion of the Afghans, Arabs, and Rohillas, and the disarming of the population of the city; and then it will be said

1. *Our Faithful Ally, the Nizam* by Hastings Fraser, p. 492, (appendix JJ).

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that guards should be placed over the house of the prince (Moorshidzada), and a Company's Adawlut established for the improvement of the state. If these orders of the Company are disregarded, the ruler will be summoned to the presence of the Governor-General, and orders personally given him. If even then he should decline them, some member of the ruler's family will be made to succeed him. All these measures are owing to the intrigues of the Dewan. Beware, and be on the alert! or otherwise you will have to repent of your doings. The Ameer Kubeer (Shumsh-ool-Oomrah) even does not point out any measures, as he thinks that he has nothing to do with the ruler or the state so long as his own house is in safety. It is a pity, and a hundred pities, that the love of the world has fixed itself in his heart, and that he is devoid of zeal for his faith and the religion of Islam! Curses on his worldly mindedness! The Dewan also intends to take under his own control the Sarf-i-khas and the Jebi Khas (the private estates and income of the Nizam), and to exclude the ruler from all interference, to keep him in submission, and bring him under obedience and subjection to himself, and even to destroy him by poisoning his food. When the ruler consults his attendants or those who have access to him, these men, from fear of the Dewan, advise His Highness to leave the matter to the judgment of the Dewan, and act according to his advice. They give such advice merely from the idea that if they said anything contrary to the wishes of the Dewan they would be ruined, as those four persons who were expelled from the city. All who have access to His Highness, and his attendants, from the noble to the female domestic, are subject and obedient to the Dewan, receive salaries from him, and support him.

All these proceedings, namely the ' Star, Effigy, Title,' &c., are entirely the result of the Dewan's intrigues and instigations, and as formerly the ruler insulted the Dewan by the use of harsh language so now the Dewan, in retaliation, causes the ruler to be insulted, and conceives that he is to be made permanent in his Dewanee by rendering good service to the Company. It is owing to the advice of the Dewan that the Star, Effigy, &c. have been sent to other countries also, and he will make the ruler of the Deccan nominally such, and himself absolute in everything. The ruler of the Deccan is negligent of these things, and occupies himself in amusements, dancing, and jesting. May the Almighty remove the veil of neglect from the minds of these persons,

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and instil into them the zeal for the religion of Islam and for their faith.

I have written all this. If it is wrong, see what will come to light in a few days. The ruler has given frequent orders for the cheapening of grain, but the Dewan will not give effect to them. The people are all ruined and in distress and trouble; it is therefore certain that in a short time all the people will get together and make a disturbance against the Dewan.

If His Highness the Nizam accept the Effigy and Star, notwithstanding this notice of ours, all of us Mussulmans will make a disturbance against His Highness and the Dewan.' "

It will be seen from the above placard how the general impression had gained ground that Salar Jung, the Dewan, was trying to increase the influence of the British in Hyderabad.

Rao Saheb Peshwa's Arrival in the Deccan and the Trial of His Associates

It has been narrated above that of the trio, *viz.*, Tatya Tope, Feroz Shah and Rao Saheb Peshwa, the last named had separated himself from the others at the end of 1858. Nothing was heard of his whereabouts from this period till he was arrested and hanged on the 20th of August 1862 at Cawnpore. But from the papers discovered in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad, and from references in the contemporary newspapers it appears that Rao Saheb Peshwa had gone from Malwa to Baroda, and from there to Poona and finally arrived in Hyderabad, in March 1862. Previous to his arrival in Hyderabad he seems to have stopped for some time at Nirmal in the district of Adilabad and at Kishtapur in the district of Nizamabad. There was another person by name Kishan Rao, who was either working independently or was associated with Rao Saheb. Both these persons were staying in Begum Bazar, a suburb of Hyderabad, in the first week of March 1862. They were trying to enlist the support of the local elements, both Hindus and Muslims, in their efforts to raise an insurrection in the Deccan. For a long time it was not known whether this person was Rao Saheb or somebody else, as in the contemporary newspapers he has been referred to variously as Bala Rao,

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Kishan Rao or Raghunath Rao. The Gosavis, a community of bankers, established in Begum Bazar, helped Rao Saheb and his other associates. Some of these associates were from the districts of Adilabad and Nizamabad. Among these were Rukma Reddy, landholder of Murtad in the Armoor taluq of Nizamabad district, and a Brahmin jagirdar of Kishtapur. When the police got information of Rao Saheb's arrival in Hyderabad extensive searches were carried out and about 40 people were arrested. Rao Saheb and Kishan Rao escaped from Hyderabad, but the arrested persons were put on trial. Ram Ratan Singh, a Gosavi, who had been arrested, escaped but after his re-arrest committed suicide. The arrested persons included a number of prominent people such as Tulja Ram, the brother of Chavani Raja of the Nizam's Irregular Forces, Mohanlal, a prominent merchant, and Puranmal, an opulent banker. The following extracts throw light on the arrival of Rao Saheb in the Deccan and the trial of his associates in Hyderabad:—

(1)

"*Englishman*, March 18, 1862.—The following is from our special correspondent at Hyderabad-Deccan, dated 8th March:—

'It was told about the 1st of March that some persons, foreigners, were employed in endeavouring to get up a rebellion here, as well against the Nizam as the English, and with that view had been distributing shawls to persons at this capital. Their apprehension was deferred to obtain evidence of facts on which to proceed against them, which at length was procured by the principal person among the conspirators giving fifty rupees to a Government spy, of course for a purpose which is not described. On the night of the 4th the police doing duty at the Residency was employed to capture the principal conspirator. This man had absconded, but a Gosaeen, residing in the Begum Bazar, the ordinary place of residence for Gosaeens — how connected with this conspiracy I do not know — was apprehended, and placed in the Residency prison, the fittest place for such prisoners both for security of the person and as enabling a more minute examination to be made. On the 5th of the month — I presume, — upon the information given by this man four more arrests were made, three by the Government Arabs at a Hindoo temple (endowed by an opulent *sahookar*, who it is impossible to conceive can be concerned in such a matter) which is a place of general resort, and in which devotees and Brahmins are permitted to take up their resi-

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dence. These three men are, I understand, a Gosaeen, a Brahmin, and a religious mendicant, an Ae-awar. The fourth, a Poorbeea, was taken at the Residency. This last man gives the information that he accompanied a person calling himself Bala Rao, from whence it is not said, *via* Baroda and Poona to Hyderabad; that Bala Rao had an escort of only ten men with him, and that he distributed shawls to various persons at different places on his journey, and to several persons at this place. Among these, two persons in the Hyderabad Contingent, a naique and a sepoy, are particularized as having received shawls from Bala Rao. His principal dependence for getting up a rebellion was in the expectation that the Madras discharged sepoys would join him. What steps were taken by him in this direction are not known to me. It is questioned as to whether this is Bala Rao; if he has distributed many shawls, as he is said to have done, I shall lean to the opinion of this man's being the real Bala Rao. It is said that he resided with one Chownee Raja, of Poorbeea descent, a commander of about three thousand Nizam's disciplined infantry in the city. Others say that he resided in Buksheegunj, a southern suburb of the city, and visited Chownee Raja. This commander was called yesterday to the Minister's, at whose palace he still remains by order; but as he is not placed under a guard or any sort of restraint, and is allowed to have his own military retinue about him, I conclude he is in no way criminated. The Nizam's Government has proclaimed a reward of thousand rupees for the capture of the person known as Bala Rao and by several other aliases. He had resided for several days within, or in the suburbs of the city, and if he was actively engaged in his pursuit and in distributing shawls and money, which might have brought an aggregation of persons about him, it does not speak favourably for the police of the city, with its numerous thanas and spies dispersed over it, that his doings escaped its observation. This Bala Rao, if he could have effected it, had selected the arena of his machinations judiciously. The combustibles are ready to any man's hand, and it only requires a spark to make it blaze. The operations of this man appear, as far as we understand it, to have been confined to the regiments of the Nizam, including the Contingent, composed of Poorbeeas. Why it was not extended to the Mussulmans, to whom in the grade of disaffection I would give a much higher place, I do not know. I have considerable reliance on the vigilance of the Minister and the Resident to avert tumult and dis-

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turbance. In regard to the Minister I had almost said on his personal vigilance, for he appears to me to be almost isolated in his attachment and fidelity to the alliance with the English. It is a curious fact that the outward manifestations of disgust towards us amongst the Mussulmans is scarcely less than what it was during their triumphs in the Mutiny. It had been repressed by the lesson we had set them for a time; that is forgotten, and it has now again reappeared. I am glad of it: this ventilation of their animosity, if it do not repress its force, at least gives us warning. Hyderabad must be carefully guarded. We are taught so by the success of the *pseudo* Bala Rao, and, if his knowledge is to be our guide, in the want of discretion with which he conducted his machinations.

The sepoys of the Contingent above alluded to were arrested, nothing appeared against them, and they have been released. This conspirator was sheltered by Toolja Ram, the brother of Chownee Raja, who declares he did not know him to be a seditious person; but then has he told what his previous acquaintance with him was to dispose him to make him an inmate? and did he know nothing of, nor suspect anything from, the man's proceedings? Many arrests, I hear, have taken place; they do not wear such a form as to permit me to give credit to my information. In a day or two I shall write to you. Though upon the brink of it, there has been no *emeute*.' "[1]

(2)

"*Englishman,* March 19, 1862.—The following is from Hyderabad, dated 10th March:—

'I informed you in my last letter that the person calling himself Bala Rao had fled; he was traced to Narsinghee, a village ten miles distant from Hyderabad. He again made his escape, but a Brahmin, his servant, was captured there. This man says that the name of his master is Rama Rao; that he was a commander of five thousand men under Tantia Topee; that he had resided at Oojeyn, at Baroda, and for some time at Poona, and had come subsequently to Hyderabad; that he was now ill of fever and could not make long journeys. Whether reckoning upon this or some other information, the Government had sanguine expectation of his

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 247-248.

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being captured; I however, fear that the chances of escape, from the country being with him, are in his favour. But in all probability, he will not quit these territories, to which he seems to have looked as his final destination for his operations, and is consequently hiding somewhere in our neighbourhood. Ala-ood-Deen, the rebel of July 1857, lay concealed, if I recollect rightly, nearly two years, within twenty miles of Hyderabad. His concealment was the more remarkable, as he is said to have been a man of gigantic strength, conspicuous by his frame and stature. And that this Rama Rao considers himself favoured by the population of the Deccan is ascertainable from the very little precaution taken by him to conceal himself here. I can hear authentically of no suspicion being entertained of any man of note having been concerned in the machinations of Rama Rao, with the exception of Tooljaram, the brother of Imrutlol, better known as Chownee Raja. Regarding him, too, I suppose, no strong ground of suspicion exists, for, though he is still detained at the Minister's palace and ordered not to quit it, he is not in custody. Common rumour attaches suspicion to another man of note. A great many persons have been taken up for examination, though I do not hear that many have been imprisoned. It begins to be rumoured that this Rama Rao brought letters of credit on the bankers of this place, and that, though they may not have engaged in the treason, he was known to them, and there has been misprision of treason on their part. If it be so, I hope it may appear; for every person here at all above the common ranks thinks himself privileged to act in all matters just as he pleases.' "[1]

(3)

"*Bombay Gazette,* March 25, 1862.—We have been favoured with the following extracts from a private letter dated Hyderabad, Deccan, 19th March:—

'The rebel Ram Rao has not been taken, and, worse, his right-hand man, a Gosaeen, who prevailed upon the authorities here to take him into the country in quest of Ram Rao, though fettered, has escaped. The Seikh Jemadar, Tarasing, who had charge of him, has, with his whole party of Seikhs, some twenty or thirty in number, been dismissed. I suppose connivance at the escape is imputed to him, as this could not have been brought about by a payment; the

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 248-249.

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prisoner could not have carried a sufficient amount of money about his person to tempt Tarasing to run the risk of punishment. Tarasing would not have accepted the man's draft, and if bribery has been used it has been through the medium of jewels. I do not know whether it is the practice of the Nizam's Government to search felons when they are captured; but I do not doubt but that their immediate captors, from natural good taste, search them on their own account. I have felt all along that Ram Rao would escape. If he be taken by any of the officers serving in the districts it will not be by any of the old *regime,* but by some man newly appointed by Salar Jung. A reward has been offered of five thousand rupees for his apprehension; at first one thousand rupees was offered, more weight has been given to the party, and four thousand rupees have been added to the original offer. This too will be no inducement. You have in the close union of the natives in such matters a strong proof of their fidelity. I am not disposed to consider it a virtue, looking to the motive. It proceeds from their intense hatred of the English people and their rule, giving us a good moral that vice in its result may become a virtue.

I give you rumours. It is said that a Mootsuddee of Mundor Khan, a Patan Jemadar, who has been imprisoned for having been concerned with Ram Rao, says there is little use in taking up so poor a devil as himself. He can disclose the names of great people and will peach. As there has been no movement to indicate any such disclosure having been made, I am disposed to believe the rumour false. This is more likely than that any political consideration restrains the Government from punishing its higher servants. It is also rumoured that the rising was to have been on the 14th or 15th instant, the last days of the Holee festival; and that Colonel Davidson had directed a small detachment of the Royals and the Lancers to be ready to move at a moment's warning on those days. If this last be fact the other account would of course be correct. An opulent Sahookar was put under some duress about his conduct; what it may be is variously told about the affair (*sic*). As is their wont, the Sahookars would not celebrate the Holee. Of this last there is no doubt. I wish the Nizam's 'Government,' which is despotic would understand that it is good policy not to permit the expression of opinions by such combinations. A small contribution levied on the Begum Bazar would do the Government service, and not much harm to the Sahookars. Long

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ago the Holee was celebrated riotously in the Karvan, there was no complaint before the Government, but it had good financiers, and Raja Muheeput Ram levied fines of thirty thousand rupees from the Sahookars residing in Karvan, for, as he said, 'you do not know what this riot may have led to.' "[1]

(4)

"*Bombay Gazette,* April 5, 1862.—The following is from Hyderabad, Deccan, dated the 31st ultimo:—

'One of the rumours at an early stage connected with Ram Rao's projected rebellion was that four lieutenants of the great Arab Chief had been brought over to join the conspiracy and had received each a pair of shawls from the Brahmin Ram Rao. This sort of presentation, called Khillut, marks the tender of service and allegiance by the party and their acceptance by the other. This rumour had entirely ceased, and I have reason to believe that minute investigations which were made in the matter had elicited no fact. It is now again revived with greater force with the addition that Raja Eswant Rao, the Sheristadar of the Arabs, the person employed to transact their business with the Nizam's Government, and from that circumstance possessing great influence and consideration with it, was concerned in the conspiracy and brought over four lieutenants of the Arab troops to join it. This new rumour is probably as groundless as the first—I certainly do not believe it in all its parts. Eswant Rao is a man of ability, and his whole career has been marked by moderation and good conduct, and it is not likely, possessing wealth and a lucrative position, that he will place himself in a situation of hazard and difficulty both with the Nizam's Government and the Arabs.

The rebel Brahmin is certainly lurking somewhere in our neighbourhood. If he possesses energy he will not quit the locality, wherein alone he can hope to get up a strife of any moment. The Nizam's country is now the stronghold for rebellion if the Arabs can be got to join it. Without them it is the weakest of the weak. With the Arabs the whole country would rise. Of the Patans, the next in strength to the Arabs, there can be no doubt. This nation, however, is

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 249.

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not such as it was when Sirdar Khan charged the English at Poona, meeting their bayonets and falling under them, and was so cut up that it was remarked there was not a house in Chunchulgoora or Musheerabad, suburban villages of Hyderabad in which the Patans reside, that did not go into mourning. The forces of the Patans that are now kept up by their chiefs, more for gain than from a spirit of military ardour, consist, with a few exceptions of men of their own class, of the refuse soldiery of the country; individuals among these of the better order would fight, but it cannot be expected that their horse would ever make a charge on unbroken ranks or attempt a diversion. The Patan military Sirdars, aware of their weakness, now protect themselves with Arab guards, as some of them before did, and, for what I know, may now do, with Rohillas. We have Beloochees and Scindhees: these too would take part against us, and are brave men. The Rathores are also brave, partaking of the character of Rajputs—perhaps a few degrees higher in every respect. The Poorbeea regiments of what we here call Linewallas of Chownee Raja would also take part against us, but are not of much, if of any, consideration, but as it regards numbers, being about three thousand strong or more. The other miscellaneous troops are of no value, and no place one way or the other can be appointed for them. The Seikhs were about twelve hundred strong here: their strength is now very much reduced. Perhaps they do not consist of more than half that number. Taking their colony at Nandair into account and those dispersed over the country, something near upon three thousand might be brought into the field. In case of a general insurrection here I suppose the English Government would take them into pay. They would readily join us. I do not know that they have much affection for us —how could that be? We are a distinct race and maintain a wide separation between ourselves and others; but this everybody knows, that they most cordially hate the Mussulmans. I hear it is their practice on one of their religious festivities, the Bhundara of Gooroo Nanuk, to stir up the common food with a knife having a hog's bone handle, as an expression of their contempt for Mahomedanism; and here at Hyderabad, even here, they have been known to disturb Mahomedans engaged in prayers at their mosques, much in the manner that in my school days boys used to disturb a Methodist meeting.

It is believed that no man of note or military commander has colluded with the Brahmin Ram Rao. Common rumour,

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however, gives the names of some military commanders as concerned with this rebel. As I am, from circumstances, not disposed entirely to disbelieve this rumour, I do not give the names of the suspected parties. In all probability their collusion had gone no further than having been tampered with, and having cautiously refrained from taking part in a dangerous conspiracy, and at the same time evinced a friendly disposition towards the conspirators keeping their secret.

Mookhtar-ool-Moolkh would be pitied were it not that I believe his energy will surmount all his difficulties, great and many as they are. The whole can be expressed by one question. Who is with him? Tarasingh, the *employe* by selection to apprehend the rebel, is in fetters for having betrayed his trust. Recent circumstances give you a sample (of the hatred of the people for you wanted to test) of their folly. Hyderabad won't keep, it must be kept, and your administrators, Colonel Davidson and Mookhtar-ool-Moolkh, will keep it as they did before.' "[1]

(5)

"*Englishman,* April 8, 1862.—The following is from our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 27th March:—

'Ram Rao, the rebel, is not taken; he has had time enough, if moving, to escape the country. I, however, still hold to the opinion that he is sheltered somewhere in our neighbourhood, either in some temple to which there is a public resort for Hindoo devotees, or in some garden-house, in the vicinity of the city, possessing a temple with a similar right of resort. No Mussulman appears to have been concerned in this conspiracy. A crude suspicion, upon information now not credited, was formed that four lieutenants (chaoos) of an Arab chief were engaged in the conspiracy. Nothing more is heard of this, and if the Arab chief Abdoolla bin Ali knows such to be fact he will not deliver up his lieutenants, but I believe he will have the good sense to send them out of the country. He cannot possibly desire to break down his fortunes and the position of the Arabs here by becoming implicated in such matters. I am sorry to say that a rumour of a credible sort implicates some of our Shaookars in this conspiracy. One of these resisted the capture of some of the emissaries of Ram

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 249-251.

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Rao who are living at his temple and garden, a place of public resort, in the character of devotees. He vindicates the part he took in refusing to give up the men by saying that it was contrary to usage, and a stigma upon him, to apprehend persons authoritatively on his premises without previously engaging his participation or obtaining his sanction. He further alleges that the common habit of the police of finding pretences for extorting money had led him to the supposition that their search on his premises was not warranted by authority. I conclude he is fully vindicated with the Government, for no manner of change has been made in his position, or in his reception at the Minister's. Not so with the other sahookars. Ram Rao was traced to his hiding place at a gosain's, once opulent, now a bankrupt but by no means destitute—one Nurbuddageer. He was protected in his hiding-place on his promise not by Nurbuddageer himself, but by his chehla. His concealment was disclosed to the Government; there was pursuit, but the chehla, had, most extraordinarily, information of it, and Ram Rao was carried by him and found asylum through his means in a garden at Nampelly, in the vicinity of the Residency. He was traced and followed up. Here, too, information of the pursuit preceded the capture, and he was returned by the Kurnum of Nampelly, to whom he had been intrusted by the chehla, to Nurbuddageer's. He was again traced and escaped to the house of an opulent Sahookar, in one of whose adjoining houses he had found shelter.

The history of his connection at this house is curious. The adopted son of the Sahookar, a lad of about thirteen years of age, was presented to Ram Rao by a Poorbeea sepoy doing duty at his adopted father's, and made his obeisance to Ram Rao by presenting him with a nuzzur of a hundred rupees and a mundeel. The boy, subsequently, as he had no authority to draw upon his father's cashier for money, obtained a thousand rupees from a Sahookar with whom his father had accounts and presented it to the Brahmin Ram Rao. If it be fact, it is a curious circumstance that so young a boy should have played so conspicuous a part in this conspiracy. The secret of the Brahmin must have been disclosed to him to dispose him to acknowledge his greatness by presenting him with a nuzzur and the thousand rupees; and it is not a little strange that a Sahookar having accounts with his father should have given him a thousand rupees on his sole demand when his father's cashier would not have

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done so. It is difficult to believe that he received the money unaccredited by any person. It is said that it was here that Ram Rao purchased sixteen pairs of shawls in a lump, which could scarcely have failed to excite observation and suspicion. He was traced to this spot also, but no information preceded him, for he had barely time to escape, the light in the room he occupied not being extinguished and his lair being still warm.

It is said—I cannot vouch for the facts, though they are in everybody's mouth—and believed by Sahookars, that Tarasing, the Seikh Jemadar of the Nizam's Police doing duty at the Residency, was employed by the Minister for the apprehension of this rebel or conspirator. He was allowed to search in all places, but demur was made by a gomashta of the Sahookar's to his entering an especial chamber, on the ground that it was vacant. Appearances in the chamber controverted this assertion, and it is said that the gomashta was soundly beaten by Tarasing. Here arises a difficulty, but incongruities here impeach no fact. Tarasing has not complained of the gomashta's evasion, nor, that I hear, has the gomashta or his principal complained of the sound drubbing bestowed on the former. The Poorbea, the introducer of the Sahookar's adopted son to the Brahmin, who was doing duty as sentry at the chamber, and the *miar,* have fled, and a small guard of the city kutwal is placed over the Sahookar pending the delivery of the Poorbea. As the kutwal's guard do nothing that I know of but eat, drink, and sleep at the Sahookar's, I cannot see in what the urgency of this pressure lies. The Brahmin was now traced to a garden-house of the said Sahookar at Narsinghee. He was followed; he escaped, but a servant of his was made prisoner. Investigations by one or two Moulvies are made daily in this affair. The depositions of the suspected parties who have been apprehended are taken, but I do not hear that many witnesses have appeared (some have) to convict them.

Tarasing, who had done good service in the first instance, had brought in as prisoner the chehla of Nurbudageer, importuned the Nizam's Government to give him charge of this person, by whose means he expected to apprehend the prime conspirator. Having got charge of him he took him into the country, as in pursuit, and allowed him to escape. Tarasing is now in fetters. It is said he had good harvest amongst

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the Sahookars. If Ram Rao should be lurking in our neighbourhood it is not unlikely that after the lapse of a considerable time, when this conspiracy is forgotten, he may reappear. These people, Brahmins especially, have considerable patience, and will quietly bide their time, and if the Sahookars have been concerned with him—a difficult problem to solve—and go unpunished they will be encouraged to renew their treason and to take an active and bolder part. Their influence would give greater extent to the conspiracy.

P.S.—I wrote my letter yesterday. The whole of my facts have been confirmed by a person intimately connected with one of the principal parties. I have been further informed that, as the persons sent to apprehend the Brahmin were resisted by the people of a Sahookar in Begum Bazzar, as being fellows going about without authority to extort money, so being taken for dacoits, they were resisted at Narsinghee by the people of the other Sahookar. The guard posted at the house of one of these is not so ineffective as I have represented it to be. It has been decreed that after a certain period the Sahookar, unless he produce the Poorbea sentry, shall pay, commencing from the day that the guard was posted over him, one thousand rupees per diem. To a certain small extent this decree has been already carried out.' "[1]

(6)

"*Englishman*, April 14, 1862.—The following is from our Hyderabad correspondent, dated 5th April:—

'I see that this conspiracy of the Brahmin Ram Rao will furnish an abundance of matter for the papers. I told you in my last letter that a gosain, who had been taken up as a conspirator, had fled from the custody of Tarasing, a police Jemadar of Seikhs, under whose charge he had been placed. I believe, however, that I had not told you that this gosain had but two fingers upon his right hand, a circumstance which could not have failed to lead to his discovery had the people had a mind to take him. He was traced to Narain Khera, a village situated in the districts under charge of Shums-ool-Oomrah, and which had previously obtained notoriety from giving asylum to bands of Rohilla marauders. He was pursued by a party under the command of one

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. III, pp. 251-252.

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Hubeen Khan, the kutwal of Begum Bazar, was taken and with him the gosain at whose house he resided was made prisoner. They were being brought down here, but when within twenty miles or so of the city the gosain, who had escaped from custody, having possessed himself (how I have not yet heard) of the dagger of one of his Seikh guards, committed suicide. His not being brought in living is a great disappointment to the Government, which expected to obtain valuable information from this man, known to have been an active emissary of Ram Rao, and his confidential friend. I am told the work of taking depositions has at last been accomplished, and copies have been sent to Colonel Davidson, whose advice this Government will take as to its future proceedings in the matter of these rebels; and I suppose Colonel Davidson will take counsel from his Government. If there be any man of note engaged in this rebellion I hope nothing of his punishment will be remitted, and that it may be made an example to Hyderabad, which seems to have forgotten that persons in the higher stations can be punished.' "[1]

(7)

"*Englishman,* February 23, 1863:—The following is from Hyderabad Deccan, dated 12th instant:—

'On the 7th instant a Mahratta Brahmin, said to be a conspirator concerned with the Rao Saheb in his insurrectionary movements last year, was apprehended by an Arab Jemadar, who was on his track and has now not only apprehended the man, but, it is said, possesses full proofs of his criminality.' "[2]

(8)

"*Friend of India,* June 5, 1862:—But it is conduct like this, and Colonel Davidson's refusal to obey the orders of the Government of India in the matter of Berar, for which he was too severely censured by Lord Canning and the Secretary of State, which makes such conspiracies possible as that serious plot in Hyderabad from which only Providence has delivered us. Its author Rao Saheb, the nephew of the Nana, awaits his trial in Agra. The full magnitude of the danger is now before us. For no less than six months was this man in Hyderabad, distributing his money freely among the

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 252-253.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 255.

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30,000 Rohillas there. It was arranged that they were to rise, murder the British officers and troops, attack the Nizam in his place, and upset the English power throughout the Deccan. For two years, it is said, Rao Saheb and his agents have been attempting to seduce the Madras troops and native contingents in the Deccan, and yet even Salar Jung was unaware of the fact. Whatever may have been the nature or objects of the conspiracy, this much is certain, that it was widely ramified. The few discontented spirits still in the country, and their prompters in Nepal and Mecca, disappointed in the rebellion in Northern India, still hope to succeed in the Deccan."[1]

* * *

Papers relating to the trial of the associates of Rao Saheb Peshwa are extant in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad. From among them we give below a free translation of a diary-wise note of the preliminary investigations conducted in the case by a Magistrate of the city at the instance of the Resident at Hyderabad:—

"This case was instituted in the Court on 6th Ramzan, 1278 H., *i.e.*, on 8th March 1862. The first to be arrested was Ram Paren, who had accompanied Kishen Rao. An inquiry was to be made. Statements of three others were recorded along with his but true facts could not be elicited. On 7th Ramzan four other persons, who were arrested on suspicion of conspiracy, were also examined.

On 8th Ramzan four more persons were arrested but nothing could come to light from their statements.

On 9th Ramzan the Magistrate himself carried out an inspection of the spot. He visited Begum Bazar, inspected Kishen Rao's house and made enquiries from the neighbours but no trace of the rebellious and absconding man could be found nor could anything be known about him. It could, however, be ascertained that as a precaution, the rebel had engaged four houses and did not stay permanently at any one place. Also some torn papers were found there. When the Magistrate visited Kishen Rao Sahu's house, Tara Singh, a Dafedar of the cantonment police, produced some of Kishan Rao's servants. They gave no satisfactory replies. They were taken into custody by the Court.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 343-344.

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The inspection on the spot in Begum Bazar could only lead to the information, that, one Kishen Rao had been busy in planning disturbances and troubles in the city.

Later, a report, bearing the seal and signature of Nawab Mukhtarul Mulk, was received by the Court. A summary of the same is given below:—

The Nawab Saheb had received an anonymous letter on 26th Shaban 1278 H., stating that disturbances were going to occur shortly. The Nawab Saheb passed on the letter to the Resident. Major Nornel informed him in this connection that a Gosain, who had arrived from Ramnath, was staying at a Math, known as Phulmary Math, in Begum Bazar and that the Raja of Chhaoni (cantonment) was known to be assisting him and that he was kept under strict watch. Mukhtarul Mulk expected that he would be intimated when the Gosain's antecedents would come to light.

Afterwards, it was learnt that one Jakesar Singh, a man from Commander Fingles's jurisdiction, had a meeting with the Gosain and he admitted before Jakesar Singh that he was Nana Saheb and that some of the Government Vakeels of Rajputana were accompanying him, and that it was his intention to incite people here to rise in revolt against the Government.

On the basis of Maj. Nornel's reports the Resident desired to arrest the aforesaid person at once, without causing any commotion. Jakesar Singh was instructed to have another meeting with him and all arrangements for his arrest immediately after Jakesar Singh's return, had been planned. It was further learnt that the said person was also known as Rao Saheb.

Kishen Rao did not meet Jakesar Singh at the appointed place but ordered him to see him somewhere else. So his arrest could not be effected. Jakesar Singh was asked to be present at Begum Bazar. When Jakesar Singh first came there, he was directed to go to Qamruddin Khan's gardens. Jakesar Singh reached that place and found that 800 Rohillas and 200 Arabs had assembled there. Jakesar Singh was informed there that riots were going to take place within nine days. When Jakesar Singh was asked about Rao Saheb's house address, he stated that Rao Saheb had no particular house and it was impossible to say at which

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house he might be found at a given time. As Rao Saheb was reported to be moving in a Bairagi's dress, a search was started for suspected Bairagis but without any avail. When a search was carried out at Qamruddin Khan's garden, no gathering of Rohillas and Arabs was found there. It was learnt that some people had in fact assembled at Sharfanji's garden.

As Qamruddin Khan's gardens are near Gosha Mahal, where the Goshamahal Platoon is stationed, the Commander of the said Platoon, Mr. Round was deputed to verify Jakesar Singh's statement but this could not be done. It was also learnt from Mr. Nornel's letter that Rao Saheb relied upon Jakesar Singh for secret help. Hence nothing dependable could be known from him. Therefore efforts were made to trace Rao Saheb in other ways.

A member of that party, Ram Paren was arrested. Mukhtarul Mulk had stated that Ram Paren was present at Sharfanji's garden, when Jakesar had visited Sharfanji's garden, but Ram Paren revealed nothing.

Statements of the persons, who were arrested, were recorded and passed on to Mr. Nornel. Tara Singh was asked to accompany Ram Paren to arrest Rao Saheb at Begum Bazar but Rao Saheb was not to be found. His bedding was, however, found. Tara Singh returned unsuccessful at 12.30 in the night. Ram Paren stated that he had accompanied Rao Saheb to Ujjain, Baroda, Poona and Hyderabad and that Rao Saheb changed his name at every place.

At this stage steps were taken to effect Ram Rao's arrest. In the morning a Zunnardar was arrested at Pooranmul's house, while three other persons were also arrested in the vicinity of the house. Nothing of value could be gained from the statements of these arrested persons except that shawls and other articles were distributed among the people by Ram Rao. It was also known from Ram Paren's statement that the absconding rebel was neither Nana Saheb nor Rao Saheb but his name was Ram Rao and that he was accompanied by about 5,000 people from Ujjain. They were, however, dispersed by an attack by the British army and Ram Paren had fled from there along with 8 or 10 other persons. The names of persons who got shawls, according to Ram Paren's statement, were Tulja Pershad and Amrut Lal.

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Four Arabs were also given the shawls. Their names could not be ascertained. On this report orders were passed to announce a reward of Rs. 1,000 for the arrest of Ram Rao. The Marathi papers, which were found, were translated into Persian and the translation was sent to Major Nornel.

On 10th Ramzan, one Imam Bux was sent by Major Nornel to identify certain persons at Amrut Lal's house. On enquiries they were found to be some Punjabi mendicants.

On 12th Ramzan the statement of Sital Singh, Sawar, whom Habib Khan, Kotwal, posted at Begum Bazar and those of Mr. John Fingles and Jamadar Tara Singh were recorded.

On 12th Ramazan statements of Sital Singh, Sawar, who had accompanied Jakesar Singh and who had received a shawl from the absconding rebel and of Anant Ram, the informant, were recorded.

The papers which were found at the absconding rebel's house, were translated. The name of that person was ascertained from these papers.

On 13th Ramzan Ram Paren's statement was recorded. Some facts came to light from his statement. The statements of Vishwanath Bhat, Antayya and Ram Pratab were also recorded. New facts began to reveal themselves.

On 14th Ramzan the Court remained closed on account of Holi.

It appeared from Antayya's statement that seven days ago, *i.e.*, a week before the 13th of Ramzan, Raghava Chary, Gopal Rao, Vishwanath Bhat and Mordayya, accompanied by Ratangir, a disciple of Narbadagir, came into the garden, after a part of the night had passed. These five persons stayed at the temple for four or five days.

Ratangir visited him daily. What was verified by their statements was that two persons were rebels. One was Ram Rao, who was known here as Ram Rao, as Rao Saheb at Baroda and as Maharaj at other places and the other was Kishen Rao, who adopted the same name here but was known as Raghonath Rao at other places.

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Another fact was that Ram Rao was staying at Narbadagir's math, from where he absconded along with four others, with the assistance of Ram Ratangir, a disciple of Narbadagir. Antayya was hiding in the house of Pujaris, in Balmukand's garden, which was adjacent to the temple. Ram Ratangir helped him in fleeing from there. Out of those four persons, one Vishwanath Bhat had been arrested.

On 15th Ramzan Kalidas completed his statement while Lingayya Pujari's statement was also being recorded. The statements of Kanniah Singh, Rukma Reddy, Chandan, Baldev (a barber) and Jain Raghava Sing were recorded on even date.

Through Tara Singh, two shawls, a perfumery case (*Itardan*), a tray of silver (*Pandan*), a cap, a talisman, and a red turban were received. It was learnt from Tara Singh that Ram Ratangir had escaped from the custody of the guard. Earlier, two shawls, secured from Jakesar Singh and his companions, were received by Nawab Mukhtarul Mulk.

It was revealed by Lingayya's statement that five persons were hiding in his house. One day Ram Ratangir arrived there and made four of them run away from his house, while he concealed Raghava Chary in a Telugu woman's house, which was adjacent to the temple. He also stated that fifteen days ago Ram Ratangir had taken him alone to Narbadagir's house, where a number of strangers had arrived. Out of the five persons, only Raghavachary was sitting hidden in a room while the other four were sitting outside openly.

Rukma Reddy, Rajayya Reddy, Chandan, Bhao and Ram Ratangir used to visit the garden and this statement was verified even by Rukma Reddy's statement. From the enquiries made on that day (15th Ramzan) the facts which had been established were that an accomplice of Ram Din, *i.e.*, Ram Rao, had been arrested on Tuesday, 4th March (2nd Ramzan) and that on Sunday, 2nd March (30th Shaban) Ram Ratangir took Ram Rao and four of his companions from the upper storey of Narbadagir's house, situated in his Math, to Antayya's and Lingayya's house, in Balmukund's Bagh and hid them there. Ram Ratangir was assisted by Rukma Reddy and Rajayya Reddy. When announcement for the arrest of the absconder was released, he

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was at first hidden in the Telugu woman's house and was later helped to run away from there.

It was not yet fully proved that Kishen Rao had also fled. On 16th Ramzan, Linga Rao, Chittoba and Vishwanath completed their statements. After his statement of denial, Vishwanath Bhat deposed that Ram Ratangir, the disciple of Narbadagir, had hidden five persons, Raghavachary, Kirdi Kishen Rao, Mordayya Gopal and Narsing Rao and himself at the house of Antayya. His statement corroborated Antayya's statement. He had said that Raghavachary was taken from the garden on the 4th day but it could not be known as to who had taken him and where. It could not also be known where Narsinga had gone. In the afternoon the deponent and Mordayya Gopal Rao approached Manvathi's Dharam Shala. On the next day a report was received that Kishen Rao and others, who were staying at Narbadagir's Math, had been arrested. Hearing this report everyone of the party ran away, in the direction which he thought suitable. The deponent left for Humnabad. By the evening he reached a river. The deponent was bathing at the river, when Kishen Rao arrived there. He spoke to him for a short while and said that he would proceed towards Poona. He also asked the deponent to accompany him. The deponent enquired true facts from him. He said that Ramsingh Pulmary was trying to make arrests and Chittoba had been arrested at the Dargah of Hazart Husain Shah Wali. But he had escaped from there. Saying this he left by the main road. They reached Sholapur, a day after Holi, and wanted to proceed to Poona from there.

It was also evident from the statement of the deponent that two or three days before the arrest of Ram Paren, Raghavachary along with four other persons was staying in a room at Lingayya's house in Balmukand's Bagh. On the night of Ram Paren's arrest Kishen Rao had visited Raghavachary and reported Ram Paren's arrest to him. Waman Komti had also called on Raghavachary, at Balmukund's Bagh, to demand his money. He received Rs. 21 in cash and the hilt of a sword from Raghavachary and left the place. Raghavachary had also come out of the garden.

It was learnt from Chittoba that Ram Paren was arrested on Wednesday, and on the same day, Government sawars got ready at night. Meanwhile, Kishen Rao informed Chittoba (the deponent) that a Brahmin, residing at Jagannath

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Temple, had approached him and enquired where the persons were, who were staying there. Hearing this, Chittoba (the deponent) proceeded to Rasooli's house. After two hours Kishen Rao appeared there saying that he was told by Shiva Charan that sawars had left the Resident's Kothi to arrest them. Then he himself (Chittoba) and Kishen Rao proceeded from that place and reached Narbadagir's Math. Ram Ratangir led Kishen Rao to Raghavachary, who was in Balmukand's Bagh, and he (Chittoba) remained sitting in the Math, till Tara Singh reached there along with some sawars. Ram Ratangir hid the deponent (Chittoba), Bhao, and Chandan in a house adjacent to the Math. Chandan left that place and again went over to the upper storey of the Math, while the deponent (Chittoba) and Bhao remained sitting there. It was not learnt as to what Ram Ratangir had said to Tara Singh, who returned from there without those persons. On the next day, Ram Ratangir asked the deponent to leave that house because Waman Komti had visited that place in search of Raghavachary, apparently for demanding his money. While leaving he (Waman Komti) was saying that he would come back along with the sawars and get them arrested. On this information the deponent (Chittoba) emerged from the Bagh and proceeded towards Kishen Bagh. Kishen Rao and Ram Singh were sitting at the Math of Gosains near Karwan. Ram Singh called the deponent, who approached him and stated his circumstances. Kishen Rao said that he was informed by Kalidas and Ram Bhao, on the way, that the sawars had approached his house and that he (Kishen Rao) should not go there. So Kishen Rao went to Hazari's house, where some Peshkar was staying. Ram Singh brought Chittoba and his companions there. They remained there for two hours in the night. Kishen Rao said that it was not advisable for them to stay together at a place. Therefore, three of them (including the deponent) went to Begum Bazar. Ram Singh suggested that they should proceed to any village, if they did not find any place to stay there at night. They slept at night in Sita Ram Bagh. In the morning they remained sitting at the Chawdi, adjacent to the Durgah, while Ram Singh went to Begum Bazar to fetch his articles. The deponent (Chittoba) and Kishen Rao slept at a shop at the Dargah of Husain Shah Wali. Ram Singh was arrested. Later, he approached them to arrest them, accompanied by Government sawars. Kishen Rao, nonetheless, ran away but the deponent (Chittoba) was arrested.

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From this statement it is evident how Kishen Rao ran away, by whom he was given an alarm, and by whom he was assisted to escape. It was also ascertained that Kishen Rao was usually accompanied by Ram Bhat, Kalidas, Bhao, Ram Bhao, Baldev, Vasantu, Bhagwan Singh and Lachmandas and while he was at Narbadagir's Math he was accompanied by Raghavachary, Chandan, Ram Paren, Mordayya Gopal Rao, Vishwanath Bhat, Balkishen and Narsingachary.

On 17th Ramzan the statements of Narsing Das, (a Sahukar who had sold the shawls), Lachman Rao, Kalidas, and Waman Komti were recorded. On this date it was ascertained that four of the five confiscated shawls, were sold by Narsing Das. Lachman Rao was the purchaser. It was also ascertained that, between 5th Rajab 1278 H. and 5th Ramzan 1278 H. Lachman Rao had purchased from Narsing Das's shop 20 shawls valued at Rs. 1,524-4-0. Four out of these five shawls were sold on 5th Ramzan.

On 18th Ramzan some bundles of papers, which were recovered from the arrested criminals, were inspected. Translations of these papers were read out. Strict verbal instructions for the arrest of Kanniah Singh, Antayya and Lingayya were given.

On 19th Ramzan statements of Mohan Lal Sahukar (a boy about 15 years old), Dhanji and Badrinath (Gumashtas) were recorded. Strict instructions were given to trace Shiva Charan, a servant, who was absconding. Narbadagir's statement was also recorded. It emerged from to-day's enquiries that Ram Rao was assisted by Ram Ratangir, Rukma Reddy and Rajayya Reddy in his escape and they gave him all information and that Kishen Rao's escape was made possible only by Shiv Charan's conveying information to him and by the assistance rendered to him by Kishen Rao II. It was also evident that all the three absconders, Ram Ratangir, Rajayya Reddy and Shiv Charan were most serious offenders.

On 20th Ramzan Martand Rao's statement was recorded, as he had also accompanied Lachman Rao to purchase a shawl from Narsing's shop. Copies of the statements of Ram Paren and others were also prepared on even date.

On 22nd Ramzan your obedient servant (the Magistrate) himself visited Begum Bazar and recorded statements

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of Ratan Kunwar, mother of Mamanmul and Saran, wife of Setti Ram Patwari, residing at Devichand Tulsi Ram's house, where Kishen Rao's bedding was recovered from an outer room. The house was carefully inspected both from outside and inside. However, Tara Singh's statement that Kishen Rao escaped from this house on the arrival of the military could not be verified. On an inspection of the house no clues could also be found to show that Kishen Rao might have escaped from this house. As Tara Singh stressed this fact in his statement, the house was inspected a second time. No inmate of the house verifies this statement. After this Narbadagir's house and another house adjacent to his house were inspected, where Ram Ratangir, Chandan, Chittoba and Bhao are said to have been hiding at the time of the arrival of Tara Singh's sawars. The kitchen, store-room, and the sitting room were all inspected carefully. Detailed enquiries were made from the inmates of the Math. The information gathered today made no addition to the information already obtained. Afterwards, Sharfanji's Bagh, where Ram Rao had distributed shawls among his companions, was inspected. This Bagh is now owned by Saheb Jan. Enquiries were made from the inmates of the Bagh, including the Mali and others. Nothing new could be known, nor was any trace of the absconders given by the inmates of the Bagh.

Afterwards Balmukand's Bagh, the temple, and the Pujari's house, where Ram Rao was said to have been hiding were inspected. Enquiries were made from the womenfolk and children residing in the garden. No trace of the absconders was found. However, a reward of Rs. 5,000 was offered to the inmates of the place and they were induced to ascertain the truth.

On 23rd Ramzan Bala Bhao, who was deputed by Lachman Rao to purchase a shawl, was arrested and produced before the Court. His statement was recorded. Other persons were also examined in connection with the letter addressed to Rukma Reddy.

On 25th Ramzan the statements of Ram Pershad, Sivamma, a woman residing at Narbadagir's Math, and her husband Ganesh Singh were recorded. The statements of Ram Bhat, Bhao and Lachman Das, were also completed. It transpired that Bhao's name was Ramdas and Lachmandas's real name

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was Matha Din. The latter was employed at the Regiment house No. 73. He said that he was removed from service on a gratuity after the conquest of Lahore. Enquiries were made of him regarding the perfumery case (*Itardan*) and other articles belonging to Kishen Rao. Other measures were adopted for the arrest of the offenders.

On 26th Ramzan questionnaires were prepared to record the statements of Narhar Bhat, Ramchandar Kakari and Sakha Ram Bhagwant, residing at Narsampur. Sayeed Arab, who was suspected of conspiring with the offender was also examined. After preparing a gist of the facts of the case, all the arrested accused were charge-sheeted and their replies were recorded.

On 27th Ramzan, accompanied by Anant Ram, the informant, the Magistrate saw the Resident and Maj. Nornel and narrated all the circumstances to them briefly. Anant Ram was produced before Maj. Nornel and was asked to repeat his statement so that Maj. Nornel should hear all that he said.

Afterwards the Magistrate returned to his office and heard an oral statement of Pooran Mul Sahu, who was summoned on Tara Singh's complaint. Further hearing was postponed as the time for breaking the (Ramzan) fast had approached.

Spies and informants were appointed to trace the absconding offenders. Other persons were also deputed for the same purpose.

28th Ramzan: Eroo Mali and Makhan Singh, who were released on bail, were appointed to help in the arrest of Ram Rao and the Telugu woman (who had harboured Ram Rao) and to give information about him. Secret efforts are being made to arrest the absconding offenders. For this purpose Anant Ram has been appointed as an informant.

On 29th Ramzan some further evidence could be collected from Ram Paren's oral statements. He indicates Ram Rao's presence at certain places. He has been instructed to point out the places correctly. Instructions were given to appoint ten to twelve informants and to adopt effective measures to ensure the arrests of the absconding offenders.

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A full statement of Kalidas was recorded. He was asked to show the places visited by Ram Rao and the houses in which he stayed after he left Poona.

30th Ramzan: Jagesar Singh came along with Pran Dutt and mentioned certain places, where traces of the absconding offender could be found. But their statements could no longer be relied upon. They were told that if their references were correct the wanted man should be traced and arrested by them.

Ram Paren and Makhan Singh were sent to Jagesar Singh, as desired. It was learnt from Eroo and Makhan Singh that the Telugu woman was still absconding and no trace of her could be found so far.

Translated papers were read for a second time.

The offenders' statements have not been reproduced in the above report nor have the witnesses' statements been given in detail. This is only a brief note about the developments, which took place between 6th Ramzan and 30th Ramzan, 1278 H. This may reveal several facts. Facts may also come to light from the papers already sent to the Resident. They might have certainly been perused.

Copies of the papers sent by Mukhtar-ul-Mulk to the Court, bearing on this case, have also been included.

1st Shawal, 1278 H. (Sd.) Moiduddin."

* * *

The judgment delivered by the Court after the trial of the accused in the Begum Bazar Case is rendered below:—

GOVERNMENT OF HYDERABAD,

Complainant:—

versus

Accused:—

1. Ram Pren s/o Shiva Dutt, caste Brahmin, aged 30 years, residing at Ajjodhia, accomplice of Ram Rao, the Rebel.

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2. Balkishen s/o Atma Ram, caste Brahmin, residing at Ratnagiri, aged 34 years, accomplice of Ram Rao, the Rebel.

3. Bhao s/o Gopalji, caste Sarvi Maratha, residing at Rajapur, Ratnagiri district, aged 45 years, (also known as Ramdas) accomplice of Ram Rao, the Rebel.

4. Lachhman Das *alias* Mata Din, s/o Sukh Lal, caste Bairagi, residing at Ajjodhia (he is really a resident of Mohammadpur, Daryabad district), aged 30 years, an accomplice of Ram Rao, the Rebel.

5. Kalidas s/o Tulsidas, caste Baqqual (Vaish), residing at Bardoa, aged 30 years, an accomplice of Ram Rao, the Rebel.

6. Vishwanath Bhat s/o Vithal Bhat, residing at Ujjain, aged 28 years, an accomplice of Ram Rao, the Rebel.

7. Chandan s/o Bhawani Pershad, caste Gowd Brahmin, residing at Tikamgadh, aged 48 years, an accomplice of Ram Rao, the Rebel.

8. Jintu Ba s/o Sakha Ram Mahdev, caste Brahmin, residing at Gwalior but residing at present in Ujjain, aged 30 years, an accomplice of the Rebel.
Offence:—Participation in and lending incitement to mischief-mongering. Enjoying full confidence of Ram Rao and Kishen Rao.

9. Ram Bhat s/o Mor Bhat, caste Brahmin, residing at Kisnapur, aged 25 years, accompanied the rebel and came along with Ram Rao from Kishnapur.

10. Rama Chary s/o Ranga Chary, caste Vaishnav, residing at Ramesharji, aged 28 years, accompanied the rebel from Kishnapur to Hyderabad.

11. Kishna Chary s/o Veer Raghava Chary, caste Brahmin, residing at Kumbhakon, aged 30 years, accompanied Ram Rao from Kishnapur.

12. Venkata Chary s/o Setu Chary, caste Sri Vaishnav, aged 20 years, accompanied Ram Rao from Kishnapur.

13. Jaisoora Makkhan Singh s/o Nandi Deen, caste Brahmin, residing formerly at Karown, in Kanpur

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area, aged 40 years, servant of Mohan Lal Sahu.

14. Luigi Rao s/o Bal Gopal, residing at Jalalpur, Medak taluq, aged 45 years.

Offence:—Accompanying Ram Rao and Kishen Rao, co-operating with the rebel, and concealing their secrets.

15. Rukma Reddy s/o Narsimha Reddy, residing at Mortarh village, aged 32 years, occupation Zamindar.

Offence:—Being in league with the rebel, and assisting Ram Rao to escape.

16. Lingayya s/o Rajan Bhat, aged 23 years, priest at the temple of Balmukund's Bagh, caste Brahmin.

17. Antayya s/o Rajan Bhat, caste Brahmin, aged 20 years, priest at the temple of Balmukund's Bagh.

Offence:—Concealing secrets of the rebel, assisting him in other ways and giving him refuge.

18. Narsinga Chary s/o Bairanta Chary, caste Brahmin, residing at Puranmul Bagh, Hyderabad, aged 28 years.

Offence:—Concealing secrets of the rebel. Did not report in spite of knowledge. Rendered assistance to the rebel.

19. Kishen Rao *alias* Kishtayya, s/o Purshottam, caste Brahmin, residing at Asafnagar, aged 20 years.

20. Pran Sukh s/o Gian Ram, caste Brahmin, residing at Gorakhpur, aged 20 years, (servant of Kishen Rao, the Rebel).

21. Ram Pratab s/o Nathu Ram, caste Brahmin, formerly resident of Nagore village, residing at present in Begum Bazar, aged 32 years.

22. Kapur Chand s/o Chowthmul, caste Oswal, formerly resident of Jodhpur, residing at present in Begum Bazar (rations, etc. were supplied to the rebel from his shop).

23. Vaman Komti s/o Pursu Ram, caste Komti, formerly residing at Basmat village, aged 40 years, residing at present in Begum Bazar.

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24. Nand Lal *alias* Misra s/o Birji, caste Brahmin, residing at Thanesar, aged 55 years.

25. Anna s/o Narmukh, caste Brahmin, residing at Gaoni village, District Nagar, aged 50 years.

Offence:—Secrecy. Not reporting about the rebel and mischief-mongering, in spite of having knowledge and being a Government servant.

26. ..... (?)

27. Ramchandar Rao s/o Lachman Rao, caste Brahmin, aged 42 years.

28. Lachman Rao s/o Pandit Gangadhar, aged 47 years.

29. Bala Bhao s/o Anna Sadhu, caste Brahmin, aged 46 years, residing at Mudhol.

30. Narhar Bhat s/o Munnaji Panth Bhat, residing at Mudhol, aged 30 years.

Offence:—Conspiracy. Being in league with the rebel, concealing their secrets and purchasing *shawls* for distributing them among the rebels.

31. Baldev Pershad s/o Bala Deen, caste Brahmin, residing at Biswada, aged 21 years, gunman of Mr. Blacket's cavalry.

32. Mathra Pershad s/o Chandi Pershad, caste Brahmin, formerly residing at Nander, aged 22 years, gunman of Mr. Blacket's cavalry.

33. Ganesh Singh s/o Esri Singh, caste Rajput, Patwari, aged 25 years, gunman of Mr. Blacket's cavalry.

34. Sita Ram, Havaldar, s/o Ganga Din, residing at Biswada, aged 40 years.

35. Gopal Bhat s/o Bawaji, caste Brahmin, residing at Narmukh, aged 32 years.

36. Ram Bhat II s/o Balaji, caste Brahmin, residing at present at Chitgopa village, aged 32 years.

37. Sita Ram II, servant of Mohanlal Sowcar, s/o Thakar Pershad, caste Brahmin, residing at Biswada, aged 20 years.

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38. Gunduba s/o Ramchandar Bhat, residnig in Konkan, aged 20 years.

39. Ganpathi Bawa s/o Anand Bhat, caste Brahmin, residing at Bandrulingore, aged 46 years, (who was arrested on suspicion of being Kishen Rao).

Offence:—Conspiracy and concealing the secrets of the rebels.

40. Mohanlal, Sowcar s/o Kishenlal, caste Agarwal, aged about 14 or 15 years, residing in Begum Bazar.

Offence:—Firstly assisting Kishen Rao, the rebel, giving him money and posting two of his servants to attend on him and concealing his secrets. Secondly, not presenting the accused Shiva Charan, in spite of Government orders.

Judgment

It is not necessary to give details of the preliminary trial. As the details have already been given in our note, dated 1st Shawwal 1278 Hijri, it is unnecessary to reiterate them. However, it is necessary to point out that some persons were arrested earlier. But the charges levelled against them could not be proved. Hence, they were released and made witnesses in the case. Those persons, who were released were Jagannath Singh, sepoy, Pragant Pande and Jagesar Singh Ajit. These three had been arrested along with Ram Pren, the Defendant. As no charge could be proved against them they were released under letter dated 25th Ramzan 1278 Hijri, and they were made prosecution witnesses to prove Ram Pren and others' offences. Moreover, Balayya Komti, who had been arrested and brought along with Jantu Ba, the Defendant, was made a prosecution witness, after his statement was recorded. This has also been mentioned in the letter, dated 25th Shawwal 1278 H. Similarly, Santu, Bhagwan, Subba, Baldev, and Motiram had also been arrested. But on perusal of papers it was found that the date of appointment of Santu is 14th Shaban, that of Bhagwan, is 25th Shaban, 1278 H., while Baldev, the barber, as it is found from the evidence, was appointed 12 days before the arrest of Ram Pren. These three persons have also been released as shown in the letter dated 13th Shawwal 1278 H. Moti Ram, became surety for Santu, at the time of his appointment, according to a custom in this city. As

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Santu has been released, Moti Ram's release is also necessary. As their statements could not help the case under consideration in any way, they were not made prosecution witnesses. Similarly Eeru, a Mali of Balmukand's Bagh and Makkan Singh, a sepoy, posted at the said Bagh, had also been arrested, as defendants. As stated in the letter, dated 2nd Shawwal 1278, H., they have also been released on account of lack of proof of their offence. But they were made prosecution witnesses to prove Lingayya's offence, as they had identified the priest. Similarly, Banni Ram Patwari, Gianmul, Ramjivan, Debigir Gosain, have also been released, under letter dated 25th Ramzan 1278 H., as they were innocent and Tara Singh had got them arrested without any reason. Except Debigir, the other three persons were made the witnesses to prove the Defendant Ram Pratab's offence. Besides this, Ram Pershad, Ganesh Singh and Sivayya had been arrested by Ananth Reddy's people. These three have also been released, as stated in the said letter. As some circumstances became known from their statements, they were made prosecution witnesses. Similarly, Martand Rao, was arrested in his office, for purchasing the *shawls,* which were distributed as renewals. He had been kept in fetters along with the other defendants. Being innocent he was also released after trial, for the reasons mentioned in the letter, dated 8th Shawwal 1278 H. Narbadagir was also summoned to the Court and his statement was recorded. No offence could be proved against him in the trial. It was, however, established that his disciple, Ram Ratangir, who had committed suicide, knew the secret and had been assisting the rebels and mischief-mongers. Narbadagir, besides being an old man, is also a simpleton. He remained lying in a corner and did not know anything about the activities of his disciple. He stated whatever he knew. He has also been released, as stated in the letter referred to above. Leaving these persons there remain 40 other persons, who are punished as follows:—

Ram Pren, Balkishen, Bhao *alias* Ram Das, Lachman Das *alias* Mata Din, Chandan, Jintoba and Venkata Chary have been accompanying and assisting the rebels. Rukma Reddy has also assisted them in this city, in every respect, as proved by the evidence. Hence his offence is established. His is a heinous offence, like that of the first seven persons. These eight persons are sentenced to life imprisonment.

The offence of accompanying the rebels and being in league with them is proved against Viswanath Bhat, the of-

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fence of abetting and assistance against Ram Bhat, the offence of maintaining secrecy and harbouring and assisting a criminal in his escape is proved against Linga Chary, while Narsinga Chary has been found guilty of maintaining secrecy and not reporting to Govt., according to the statement of the witness. Another Defendant, *viz.*, Tulja Pershad has also been found guilty of the said offence. He himself admits that Ram Pren had assisted the rebel in escaping, while he could do nothing to prevent him. In spite of being a Government servant, he did not report the matter to the Government. It is evident from the statements of Ram Pren and Jintoba that he visited Narbadagir's Muth and had a meeting with the rebel. A *pagdi* (turban) and *shawl* were given to him. The offence has been established against all the aforesaid persons. These five persons should be sentenced to 10 years imprisonment each. It has been established that Kalidas and Kishna Chary have been accompanying the rebels and mischief-mongers but it has not been fully verified that they have participated in the offence. Jain Rakhan Singh got a *shawl* and took part with the mischief-mongers. As regards Antayya the offence of maintaining secrecy and harbouring the accused has been established against him. But it was evident from the trial that the real harbourer and the elder man in the house was Lingayya while he (Antayya) lived at Lingayya's house and obeyed him as he was his elder brother. Hence Antayya's offence becomes less objectionable than Lingayya's. He should, therefore, be awarded less punishment. The charges against Bala Bhao and Narhar Bhat are that they have maintained secrecy, participated and assisted in the conspiracy and in the purchase of *shawls*. All these charges have been proved by the statements of the witnesses. Hence these seven persons are sentenced to seven years imprisonment each.

The offence of maintaining secrecy is proved against Ramachary who has been one of the companions of the mischief-mongers, while it has also been fully proved against Luigi Rao and Kishen Rao *alias* Kistayya that they maintained secrecy and had meetings with the mischief-mongers. The charge of maintaining secrecy and not reporting in spite of having knowledge of the circumstances of the mischief-mongers, has been proved against Vaman Komti. It is also evident that he visited them, demanding his debts. He has also received the hilt of a sword. He threatened them that he would report to the police if they failed to pay the

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debt. Hence it is evident from this that he had the knowledge of the facts but he did not inform the Government about the circumstances. This offence is also evident from the statements of the witness. The offence of maintaining secrecy is also evident against Anna, the Defendant. This man was present at Kishtapur during the stay of the mischief-mongers there. But except maintaining secrecy, no other offence is proved against him. The offence of maintaining secrecy is proved against Baldev Pershad, Mathra Pershad and Ganesh Singh, the gunmen. These three persons have admitted in their statements before Nawab Mukhtarul Mulk that they had meetings with Kishen Rao. It is evident from Ram Pren's statement that they have received *shawls*. Hence the offence of maintaining secrecy is fully proved against them. Sita Ram Havaldar's meeting with the mischief-mongers is proved and he has also admitted this in his statement before John Fingles. But he has afterwards denied it. John Fingles, commander, and Mr. D'Costa, the Adjutant, have stated in their statements on oath that he had admitted his meeting with the mischief-mongers. Hence these nine persons are found guilty. They are sentenced to 3 years imprisonment each.

Prem Singh has served the rebel nearly for a month and Ram Partab has been visiting the rebel and has also let out a house to him. The offence of maintaining secrecy is proved against him, as admitted by himself and as stated by the witnesses. Nandlal, the Defendant, had accompanied the rebel from Baroda to Kishtapur. The offence of maintaining secrecy is also proved against him. He himself admits that he had accompanied the rebel and that he was an expert in medicine and astrology. The rebel always kept him in his company for this purpose and showed him his palm. The defendant had predicted from his knowledge of astrology that there was no likelihood of fulfilment of his purpose. Hence the rebel became disappointed and fled. He also states that the rebel had become displeased with him and had left for another village, leaving him at Kishtapur.

In one of the papers regarding Ramchander Rao, recovered from the rebel, Ramchander Rao, house No. 40 has been referred to. From this it is evident that he had an acquaintance with the Rebel. Bala Bhao has stated that he had a meeting with the Rebel at his own house. As regards Lachman Rao, it is evident that he had purchased a *shawl*.

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The *shawls* had been received by the rebel through Bala Bhao and Narhar Bhat. Two out of those four *shawls* have already been recovered. It also appears from Bala Bhao's statement that he had a meeting with the rebel and participated in the shawl transactions and that he got no commission in the purchase of *shawls*. He states in his defence that the price of the *shawls* had been paid by Narhar Bhat. Thus, the offence of maintaining secrecy has been established against him. These five persons should be sentenced to one year's imprisonment each.

Mohanlal had admitted in his statement that he had a meeting with the rebel to whom he gave a present. Later on he gave him Rs. 1,000. Shivcharan, who is absconding and Jai Rakkhan Singh were his sergeants. They both paid visits to the rebel. Other companions and servants of the rebel paid visits to Mohanlal. Shivcharan was not produced. When attempts were made to arrest him, he was hidden by Mohanlal at some place. Thus two offences are proved against Mohanlal. As he is young, it will not be proper to imprison him but a heavy fine should be imposed on him.

No offence is proved against Kapurchand. No offence is also proved against Sita Ram II, who is a servant of Mohanlal. Hence they should be released. No offence has been proved against Gopal Bhat and Ram Bhat II. No one could identify them before the Court, nor has any paper from the rebel, having any reference to them, been found. Similarly, no offence has been proved against Gunduba, as stated in letter dated 28th Zilhej 1278 H. Similarly, no offence is proved aginst Ganpathi Bawa, who has been arrested and brought from Khandhar taluq. He has been arrested only on suspicion of being Kishen Rao, as he answered to his description. He was suspected to be Kishen Rao on account of his complexion and brown eyes. No other accused nor the residents of Begum Bazar could identify him. All these facts have already been stated in the letter dated 1st Zilhej 1278 H. Hence these six persons are fit to be released.

In view of the facts stated above, (1) Ram Pren, (2) Balkishan, (3) Bhao, (4) Lachmandas *alias* Mata Din, (5) Chandan, (6) Jintoba, (7) Venkatachary and (8) Rukma Reddy are sentenced to life imprisonment. They should be kept in prison in fetters for their life-time.

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Tulja Pershad, the Defendant, is sentenced to simple imprisonment. He should be imprisoned in some fort.

(1) Kalidas, (2) Kishnachary, (3) Jain Rakkan Singh, (4) Antayya, (5) Bala Bhao and (6) Narhar Bhat are sentenced to seven years rigorous imprisonment each. They should be kept in fetters.

Ramachary, Lingi Rao, Kishna Rao *alias* Kishtayya, Vaman Komti, Anna and Baldev Pershad, Mathra Pershad, Ganesh Singh, Sita Ram Havaldar s/o Ganga Deen are sentenced to one year's imprisonment each.

(1) Prem Singh, (2) Ram Partab, (3) Nandlal *alias* Misra, (4) Ramchandar Rao and (5) Lachman Rao are sentenced to one year's imprisonment. The Defendant No. 40, Mohnal Lal, is sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 75,000. If he tries to avoid payment of the fine, the same will be recovered by attaching all his property. He should be informed accordingly. This fine will not indemnify him and his gumasthas from any other punishment. If the real offenders are arrested and any other offence is proved against him by their statements, Mohan Lal will be punished for that.

Pooranmul, Sowcar, is sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 10,000 as stated in the letters dated 18th and 28th Zilhej 1278 H. The fine should be collected. His case calls for no other punishment.

Kapoorchand, Gopal Bhat, Ram Bhat II s/o Balaji (Defendant No. 36), Sita Ram II s/o Thakar Pershad (Defendant No. 37), Gunduba and Ganapathi Bawa, these six persons are released. But to ensure full satisfaction Gopal Bhat, Ram Bhat, Gunduba, and Ganpathi Bawa, these four persons should be released on security so that they may be summoned whenever required. Enquiries about them may continue openly but a strict watch should be kept on them. The articles seized during the course of the trial should be confiscated.

Jogeshwar Singh Ajit has been deputed on Government duty. On his return, orders will be passed, after taking his conduct into consideration, so that action may be taken accordingly.

Signature and seal of
MOIDUDDIN.

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Chapter XI

THE BHALKI CONSPIRACY

It has been remarked in the preceding chapters that between the years 1858 and 1867 a number of people pretending to be from the displaced family of the Raja of Satara were moving about in the Deccan and trying to create insurrections in the western parts of the State. In April 1859 Capt. Murray had arrested a person calling himself the Raja of Satara. There is a reference also to Bala Saheb Senapati having visited Bhir in 1858 to instigate insurrection in that district. A reference to this incident has been made in the Bhir conspiracy case. There is no doubt that this man repeated the names of the members of the Satara royal family long since deceased or living away from the Deccan. In the year 1867 a person known as Ram Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur was arrested near Bhalki in the district of Bidar along with his associates Balkishna, Vithoba and others. The charge against him was that he posed as the Chatrapati of Satara, collected hundreds of followers, gave *kaulnamas* or letters of appointment to his followers, captured a ghurry at Ashti in the district of Bidar where he planted a Bhagwa flag and was otherwise trying to bring about an insurrection, and that he also carried a seal on which was inscribed the word 'Chatrapati.' Ram Rao and his associates were arrested and put on trial. Ram Rao in his statement refers to his having been previously arrested in 1859 along with his uncle. They seem to have been later released. Soon after the release his uncle appears to have been killed by dacoits near Dichkonda in the district of Nanded. Govind Rao, one of the witnesses, refers to Ram Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur as having been sent by Tatya Tope from the North. It would thus be not incorrect to say that the Bhalki conspiracy case was the last echo of the outbreak of 1857. One of the *kaulnamas* issued by Ram Rao was as follows:—

"Pledge bearing the seal of Srimant Shahu Chatrapati of Satara under the Delhi Government forwarded to Bheem Rao Bahadur of Bhalki in 1276 Fasli.

'My ancestors had the privilege of ruling this country for a very long period. The British have usurped the throne.

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Now it has to be regained and the British have to be murdered. This is my determination and for this I am employing persons in my service. Persons coming from noble families will also be enrolled. Every Jamadar will get a monthly salary of Rs. 40, a Sepoy Rs. 30 and a Sowar Rs. 10. This declaration has been duly signed. God is omnipotent and omniscient.

Dated: 25th Shaban 1286 Hijri.'"

After their arrest, their statements were taken by an officer of the Resident from Rama Rao and his associates and the prisoners were handed over to be tried by the ordinary courts at Hyderabad. The Resident took keen interest in the quick disposal of the case with the result that after proper enquiry and summoning a number of witnesses the court gave the decision sentencing Ram Rao, Bheem Rao Balkishna and Vithoba to transportation for life and Yeshwanta and Jahangeer Ali to 14 years rigorous imprisonment. References in the contemporary papers and in the diary of Sir Richard Temple in this case are given below:—

(1)

"*Indian Daily News,* August 30, 1867:—SEDITION AT HYDERABAD: Rumours were lately afloat in Hyderabad of a conspiracy against both the Hyderabad Native Government and the British Government. The Nizam's Government deputed a special officer for the pursuit and arrest of the man who was designated as the ringleader; and after some delay caused by the concealment, but unattended by any armed resistance he was arrested in that part of the country which lies under the jurisdiction of Ameer-i-Kabeer Shums-ool-Oomra, together with some few others who were manifestly in close correspondence with him. These arrests were satisfactorily effected by the Ameer-i-Kabeer.

The Minister, Sir Salar Jung, showed his usual consideration in forwarding the prisoners in the first instance to the Residency, and in stating his willingness to be guided by whatever views the Resident might entertain in a matter which appeared to affect the British interests jointly with those of his master. A preliminary investigation was accordingly conducted under the supervision of the Assistant Resident; and the conclusion deduced from the evidence then brought forward and the account that the accused there gave of themselves was that the matter, though not destitute of importance, did not present any features of immediate

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danger; and that, seditious as the proceedings and manifestos by the accused had been, their success in raising men and their actual means were in inverse ratio to their pretensions.

On the other hand, it was clear that the man who had given himself the title of Jung Bahadur had represented himself through the country as the agent and a connection of the Satara family, and had induced the Mahratta Patels and Putwarees of more than one village to accept distinct engagements to supply bodies of men on liberal rates of pay, whenever they might be required for the supervision of British and Mahomedan and for the restoration of Mahratta rule in the Deccan, as well as for the recovery of Satara itself. These documents or *kauls* were signed with the seal of a deceased member of the Satara family, and appealed in an undoubtedly telling manner to Mahratta sensibilities as purporting to be issued by a lineal descendant of the line of Sivajee.

As, however, there was no pressing need for any interference of the British Government, it was deemed the preferable course to return the prisoners to the Minister, and to request him to direct their trial in the Hyderabad Criminal Court, on the ground of treason against the Nizam's Government.

The Hyderabad Criminal Court came to the conclusion that the treason was fully proved; of this indeed no doubt could well be entertained; and it passed the sentence of imprisonment for life against Jung Bahadoor and three others, and for terms of 14 years against two others, acquitting one.

This sentence was forwarded to the Resident by the Minister, with a request for his opinion as to carrying it out.

After due consideration the Resident recommended that the law be allowed to take its course as regards the main agents in the sedition; but he advised the commutation of the punishment of imprisonment to that of transportation in this case, and with respect to two of the less active participators the Resident has acceded to the execution of the sentence being postponed for a few months, in the hope that the men may turn informers, and elucidate any further possible remification of the conspiracy which may have existed.

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The Resident further stated that it is expedient to sift this affair as far as possible; probably very little overt action had been taken towards collecting men in accordance with the terms of the *kowlnamas* issued and agreed to, but these papers were couched in seditious and inflammatory terms distinctly provocative of the killing of Europeans, and though in time of profound peace their influence may have been little felt, yet in more troubled times the inconvenience might be great if such documents lay dispersed amongst an armed deccanie population." [1]

(2)

"*Sunday,* May 19th, 1867.—Today I received intimation of the proceedings of the Nizam's Criminal Court in the City, sentencing four prisoners to imprisonment for life and two to fourteen years imprisonment for high treason. These sentences were inflicted in the case known as that of Jan Bahadur, a person who in concert with several others, went about the Nizam's country, giving money and distributing notices and agreements (*kaulnamas*) inciting people to rebellion in general and the murder of the English in particular, in favour of the "Sahu Raja" which was understood to be the title of the claimant to the throne of Satara." [2]

* * *

The Judgment of the Court in this case which was pronounced on 12th Moharram 1284 H., (May 1867), is given below[3]:—

Judgment
delivered by the Criminal Court
presided over by Moulvi Nasrullah Khan, Magistrate

CRIME: *Inciting people to rise against both the Governments.*

Plaintiff: Government.

versus

Defendants:—

(1) Ram Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur, son of Jagdev Rao
Nationality: Maratha
Occupation: Mendicancy
Residence: Old Satara; at present, nomadic.
Age: 30 years

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. V, pp. 818-819.
2. *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal* by Sir Richard Temple, pp. 126-127.
3. From files preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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(2) Bhim Rao, son of Guruji
Nationality: Maratha
Occupation: Farming
Residence: Bhalki
Age: 50 years

(3) Eshwanna Naikwadi, son of Narayan
Nationality: Maratha
Occupation: Farming
Residence: Bhalki
Age: 35 years

(4) Jehangir Ali, son of Abdul Qader
Nationality: Shaikh
Occupation: Service
Residence: Bhalki
Age: 30 years

(5) Vir Peddappa, son of Ram Shetty
Nationality: Baniya
Occupation: Service
Age: 27 years

(6) Balkishen, son of Bankat Rao
Nationality: Brahman
Occupation: Patwari
Residence: Bhalki
Age: 30 years

(7) Vithoba, son of Kondaji
Nationality: Maratha
Occupation: .....
Residence: Taluqa Nilanga

The case was taken up for hearing on the basis of the letter dated 11th Zilhaj, 1283 Hijri received from the Secretary, Special Tribunal. With the letter are enclosed the following exhibits:

(1) Several papers in English and Marathi,

(2) translation of a deed of agreement and

(3) a seal.

The letter dated 19th Zilhaj received by the Court from the Sarkar refers to the exhibits sent to help in the investigation and suggests that efforts may be made to coax some

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of the accused to find out if any one of them will turn the approver.

An earlier letter dated 11th Zilhaj from the Resident refers to the dispatch under its cover of (written) statements obtained from Rama Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur and five other accused in the case. A second letter from the same quarter dated 12th Zilhaj encloses a memorandum from Mr. Kadari.

It was Mr. Kadari who obtained the statements from the accused in the case, *viz.*, (1) Rama Rao alias Jung Bahadur, (2) Bheem Rao, (3) Eshwanna Naikwadi, (4) Jehangir Ali, (5) Veer Peddappa, etc. In his memorandum Mr. Kadari mentions that the above accused, with the exception of Rama Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur, were appointed presumably as agents by Vithoba Patel, Balkishtayya and Govind Rao, Patwaris of Bhalki village, to raise recruits for creating disturbances. However, they could not carry out the work entrusted to them successfully.

Accused Rama Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur, who is before me in the guise of a mendicant, appears to me to be the principal instigator in this whole affair. Under his directions the other accused appear to have carried on their activities. The said Jung Bahadur avers that he is from the family of the Raja of Satara. No paper of any value has been found in his possession. He does not also seem to have entered into any major pecuniary transactions with anybody. The documents filed as exhibits in the case reveal only petty transactions. This man has been passing off as the nephew of the Chatrapati of Satara. I am inclined to believe that his connection with the Satara family is genuine.

By far the problem worthy of consideration in this case is whether this attempt at disturbance related to the whole country or it was limited to Bhalki only. If the latter was the case, obviously prisoner No. 1 with the support of the villagers of Bhalki might have been, to some extent, successful. But the truth remains that the attempt failed for want of whole-hearted support.

The statements of Vithoba and Balkishtayya, which have been recorded by Munshi Ram Rao and forwarded to the Court, indicate that Vithoba had told Jehangir Ali that several persons were also engaged for this work in the city

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and other places. Balkishtayya has given a statement in greater detail. It appears that much was known but people suppressed their information. If Dewan Saheb makes a cross-examination, many crucial facts are likely to be revealed. If the activities were confined to Bhalki only it would be improper to call it a big conspiracy. The gist of the copy of the memo signed by the Resident, dated 16th April 1867 (10th Zilhajja 1283 Hijri) indicates that original papers written by Mr. Kadari were sent to Mukhtar-ul-Mulk Bahadur, who was advised that all the prisoners and witnesses might be subjected to a thorough enquiry in the Criminal Court in the Hyderabad City. If it is proved in the enquiry that the movement of these bad characters was widespread, then the question arises whether they may not be accused of conspiracy against the British Government. If this crime is proved they are liable to severe punishment. But this depends upon the weight of evidence we may be able to collect.

If it is ascertained during the course of the examination that the crime of certain persons is smaller than that of others, these may be condoned to furnish evidence as prosecution witnesses against the real culprits. They must admit fully whatever they know and should assert that they were not the principal instigators of oppression and excesses, although it is clear that they remained *incognito,* received salary, assumed false names, harboured ill-will against the Government, and misled people from the right path. Hence the Dewan Saheb must deal with these bad characters and punish them.

Translation of the deed of agreement sealed by Shri Mahant Sadhu Chatrapati indicates that in the old days his ancestors were rulers. It reads: " The English people have usurped my State. It is my intention to take it back and kill the Englishmen. For this purpose, persons are being collected and employed. Such men should be from good family. It is provided that monthly salary will be given to them at the rate of Rs. 40 to a Jamadar, Rs. 30 to a Jawan and Rs. 80 to a horseman. Hence this agreement has been made. God is the real protector ".

The gist of the statement, dated 4th Mohorum 1284 H., of Bhao Rao (who arrested Jung Bahadur, the accused), son of Narsing Rao, nationality Pandri, occupation Patel of

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Auch village, residence at Auch, age 25 years, given at the Magistrate's Court is as follows:—

"As ordered by Hasan Saheb *alias* Mirza Saheb, I arrested the devotee at Tirkle village and handed him over to the Taluqdar of Bhalky, because the Taluqdar had told me that one devotee was collecting soldiers and whosoever arrested him would be rewarded and promoted. I had heard from the devotee that he was raising an army, and he himself had asked me to join it but I had refused. At the time the Government had ordered the arrest of the devotee, Shansai Rao had not come. After his arrival and residence at Bhalki, the devotee had been arrested. At that time my cousin Ram Rao, son of Narsoba was with me. A search of Jung Bahadur before me revealed a seal in his possession."

The gist of the statement, dated 1st Mohorum 1284 H., of Shankar Rao son of Mukund Rao, nationality Brahman, occupation Deshpandia of Bhalki, residence at old Bhalki, age 50 years, given before the Magistrate of the Criminal Court is to the effect that he heard often from people of Bhalki that a man was raising troops there. He, therefore, informed Nawab Mukhtar-ul-Mulk about it and stated that a Government servant, named Ram Rao, was also aware of it. The Nawab Saheb issued orders for the arrest of the mischievous persons who spread such rumours. The witness continues, we two men reached Bhalki and arrested Vithoba on the first day and Balkrishan the next day. Their statements showed that Jung Bahadur was also present there. On receiving this information, Fazal Ali, the Police Officer at Bhalki and myself started on a search of Jung Bahadur, but he was not to be found. The next day, *i.e.*, the 1st of Zelhej, 1282 H., the Taluqdar arrested Jung Bahadur and sent him to Bhalki. After that Veer Bhadrayya, Bheem Rao and Jehangir Ali were arrested by the Taluqdar of Bhalki, at my instance, but he did not arrest Ram Rao and Toraya in spite of my writing to him."

A letter in Marathi addressed to Bhao Patel and five blank sheets of paper with seal marks of Jung Bahadur on them were found with Vithoba Patel. Jung Bahadur's real name is Madhu Rao but he has made himself known as Ram Rao.

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The gist of the statement, dated 16th Moharram 1284 H., of Govind Rao son of Ramji Pandit, resident of Kesar Jalga village, Bhalki Taluq, nationality Brahman, occupation Patwari, age 35 years made before the Magistrate is: "five or six years ago Ram Rao alias Jung Bahadur sent by Tatya Tope from Nepal, came with hundis of large sums to Wardral area and dwelt for three years in the forests and required Anand Rao, Patil of Sarwari village, to construct a stronghold for him and for this purpose gave him hundis amounting to Rs. 25, 000. The Patil constructed the stronghold in Sarwari village and employed 200 soldiers and maintained a small garrison in it. With Government orders the stronghold was besieged. Jung Bahadur fled from there and stayed at the village of Aucha, Bhalki Taluq and at Raichur and Lorma. He made alliance with Bahadur Rao, Patel of Aucha, Bahadur Rao II, Patel of Lorma and Madhav Rao, brother of the Patel of Raichur. Thus he lived for fifteen days at Madhav Rao's house. He intended to raise five hundred men, both horsemen and foot soldiers, to capture the fortresses at Naldurg and Ausa. Rs. 15 for a foot soldier, Rs. 30 to a gunman and Rs. 100 for a horseman were settled and the agreement deed was given to the Patels and Patwaris. Shankar Rao Deshpande of the Bhalki district arrested Jung Bahadur and handed him over to Nawab Shamsul-Umra. Faiz Mohammed Khan, Taluqdar of Vicar-ul-Umra's estate, Fazal Ali, Deputy of Bhalki, Yeshwant Rao, Deputy of Bhalki and three others abetted Jung Bahadur and misappropriated large sums of money. The brother of Hanmant Rao Patel of Indarwal village was carrying letters between them. The witnesses of this fact are Karachi Patil of Khudawandpur. (Bhalki Taluqa) and Naguji Patel of Nirmal Palli (Bhalki Taluqa), whom I have heard usually talking about those persons. There were two more persons with Jung Bahadur. One of them was from Jalna and the other from Sholapur. Both of them were mischievous. I am not aware of their names. If I am ordered, supported by horsemen, I can arrest them. Faiz Mohammed Khan received at Chincholi a hundi amounting to Rs. 25, 000 sent by Bassappa Sahu. I have seen Rao Ram (Jung Bahadur) and can identify him. I can say that he is now present in the court. This man is assuredly Ram Rao."

The gist of the statement of Ram Rao, *alias* Jung Bahadur, defendant No. 1, taken at the Magistrate's Court on

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19th Zilhajja 1283 Hijri is to the effect that he was living at Satara after the death of his father. He became a devotee fifteen years ago and had now become a religious mendicant. Raja Chatrapati of Satara was his uncle (mother's brother). It was about fifteen days ago that Bahadur Patil, who was present in the Court, had arrested him at night in a temple at Murkal and had taken him to the Deputy Officer of Bhalki. Rama Rao stated that his uncle, who had become a religious devotee, was murdered by thieves in Bachkunda Taluqa. He complained to the English Government which did not give any attention. During this period, Balkrishna Deshpande of Bhalki had asked him why he did not try to arrest his uncle's murderers. He answered that he was helpless as he had neither money, nor any army, to help him do what was suggested.

The present position was that he had never raised any troops, nor did he intend to do so at any time in the future. The seal produced in the Court belonged to his uncle, *viz.*, Raja Chatrapati of Satara. Krishna Deshpande and Shankar Rao Deshpande had told him that Satara belonged to his ancestors and, therefore, he must now take possession of it. He said that he had neither money nor army to accomplish his purpose.

The above-named persons had told him that they would take an army into their service, would fight for him and would help him regain his ancestral kingdom of Satara. They had, therefore, asked for the seal. He gave it to them. They stamped it on some plain sheets of paper on which they wrote that the English territory of Poona and Satara shall be conquered. In addition to these papers a deed of agreement had been given to Bhim Rao, who was arrested along with him. Money was also given to him. The agreement was written by Balkishtayya and to it the said seal was affixed. He knew the contents of the deed but the rates of salary written in it were not dictated by him but they were written by Balkishtayya himself. He was arrested five years ago, along with Balkishtayya, but was released after two or three months. He had already stated that Balkishtayya had said to him that soldiers would be employed and the murderers would be caught. Balkishtayya had further stated that Poona and Satara would be conquered. Both these statements were correct. Jung Bahadur continued that he was not aware of the whereabouts of Raja Lachmati, Raja

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Bankat Rao, Senapati Bala Saheb and his uncle. He had in his possession a bundle of papers which he used to read daily and always kept with him. Further that he was not acquainted with Govind Rao, who was sitting before him in the Court.

The gist of the statement of Bhim Rao, Defendant, taken at the Magistrate's Court on 19th Zilhej, 1283 Hijri is as follows:—

'A period of four months has elapsed since Govind Rao, Patwari of Bhalki, called on me at my house. I was not at home. Later I went to Govind Rao. He asked me to take an oath and after administering the oath, told me to bring 25 persons for service. But he did not let me know the purpose for which these men were required. I also did not care to ask him. Next day, Govind Rao and Vithoba came to my house and told me that money would be sent after two days by Balkishen. After two days, Balkishen came and I was sent for. I went to the house of Govind Rao. There were present at that time, Vir Bhadrayya, Vakil, Shanker Rao Deshpande, and a Konkni Brahman, whose name I do not know. There were also present Balkishen, Govind Rao, Munawar Khan, a Baluch whose name I do not know, and also Vithoba Patel. They were talking about unknown persons. Vithoba told me that 25 persons were required for employment. I told him that money was required for that purpose and asked for Rs. 50. Balkishen gave me Rs. 25 for expenses. I returned home with the amount. After three months, Ram Rao came and I had an interview with him through Fateh Khan. I told both of them that they would not reap anything except trouble by their doings and that they were thieves. Except these words I did not say anything to Ram Rao. A paper bearing the seals of Balkishtayya and Vithoba was given to me and I was told that it contained the names and antecedents of the two persons, and I was asked to keep it carefully. I preserved it and have now submitted it to Government. Two papers were blank but they were affixed with a seal. In my presence Balkishen wrote on them and handed them to me. He said that the papers contained the scale of salaries at the rate of Rs. 80 to a horseman, Rs. 40 to a Jamadar and Rs. 30 to a Deccani soldier. At that time Ram Rao was not present. The contents were read out to me. I myself did not read them. I did not know for what purpose the army was re-

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quired. Jehangir and Kalko Ramayya were also asked to recruit soldiers. I have no knowledge of the amount of money that Balkishen had brought with him and to whom it was given. However, Rs. 10 were given to Munawar Khan and Rs. 15 were given to Ram Rao. Twenty days later I was arrested.'

The gist of the statement, dated 19th Zilhaj, 1283 H., of Eshwanna Naikwadi, defendant No. 3, made before the Court of the Magistrate, is as follows:—

'Four months have passed since Balkishen had asked me to bring about ten persons for employment. I told him that I had no men with me. After four days, Govind Rao came to my house and said that Balkishen and Vir Bhadrayya had gone to Sardari and I was asked to join them. Jahangir Ali also agreed and we went to Sardari. We met Vir Bhadrayya on the way. When we reached Sardari, Balkishen sent me and Jehangir Ali to Katpur village, Ausa Taluq. We reached there in the evening and met fifteen or twenty Mahrattas. I was taken into the forest of Ausa, where a Chaush and a Naik came and asked us to go away as there was no work for us. We returned from that place, and met Balkishen and Ram Rao. Balkishen indicated Ram Rao as the leader, who was raising an army. He is a descendant of the Raja of Satara. I told Balkishen that I would not take any employment, nor raise any adherents. At that time Ram Rao did not speak with me; nor did he give any amount to me. The instigators, in my opinion, in this disturbance are Vithoba, Govind Rao, and Balkishen. They may be examined.'

The gist of the statement of Jehangir Ali, taken at the Court of the Magistrate on 19th Zilhej, 1283 H. is as follows:—

'Four months ago Balkishen and Govind Rao had told me that they needed an army. A hundred or more recruits were required. Rs. 15 were given to me in advance and my salary was fixed at Rs. 25. However, I did not bring any person for employment. I was told that the Patel would be appointed the Jemadar of the hundred. I was not told for what purpose the army was required. I also did not care to enquire about it. I do not know the name of the Patel of Sardari as I saw him only on the day I was arrested. I had not seen Ram Rao also. I do not know the names of

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the Chaush and the Naik. From that place I went to Aurangabad. I do not know anything more.'

The gist of the statement dated 19th Zilhej, of Vir Bhadrayya, defendant No. 5, made at the Court of the Magistrate is as follows:—

'One day I went to Govind Rao as a customer and saw that some persons of Bhalki were sitting with him. On that day the prisoners were arrested and I was also arrested. I do not know the reasons for which I was arrested. I know nothing about recruitment of soldiers. I do not know Ram Rao. I did not go to Sardari with Balkishen but met him in a casual way.'

The gist of the statement of Balkishen taken at the Court of the Magistrate on 29th Zilhej, 1283 Hijri, is as follows:—

'I did not tell Ram Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur that Satara was his ancestor's country and that it should be taken back. I did not ask Jung Bahadur to arrest the murderers of his uncle, nor did I ask him to collect an army. But Jung Bahadur sent to Vithoba a hundi for Rs. 22,000 payable by Khankoya Bawa and another hundi for Rs. 2,000 payable by the Patel of Tuljapur, whose name I do not know. But the persons mentioned did not pay the amounts. They intimated that the amounts would be paid, if Jung Bahadur came personally to them. The hundis are kept in Artan village. The amounts of the hundis were required for raising an army. I had accompanied Jung Bahadur to earn my livelihood. Jung Bahadur had verbally informed me that 750 persons from eight villages had been collected and had already joined him. He also informed me that arms and other things had been deposited with the Raja of Bhaswada, after the murder of his uncle. I got acquainted with Jung Bahadur in the month of Shaban 1283 Hijri. I had told Bhim Rao that a Raja had come to Sardari and that many persons had joined his service and that he might also get employed if he liked. But I did not mention the fact of employing 25 persons. The real name of Jung Bahadur is Madhav Rao. As ordered by Jung Bahadur, I gave my written antecedents to Bhim Rao, on which Jung Bahadur affixed his seal to the paper. I did not ask Jehangir Ali and Kalkar Ramayya to collect any army, but Vithoba had asked them to do so. I did not ask Yeshwanta also to collect any army. I did not send Jehangir Ali to Inayatpur,

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The records and files of Jung Bahadur are in the keeping of the Patel of Sardari, whose name is Sathaji. As long as Jung Bahadur was living at Sardari his files were under my charge. When he went to Rajura Taluka, he took the files with him and left me behind, because I had advised him that it was not proper to wage a fight at that time, owing to the fact that a letter had been received from Nana Rao to the effect that the battle would be started after the Dasara festival. I am not aware if Jung Bahadur is a representative of Nana Rao. But in one of the letters Jung Bahadur had written good wishes to Nana Rao. If I am given an opportunity and set free, I will search out the files and *hundis* and bring them for inspection. Jung Bahadur had originally said that one lakh of rupees was required. His accounts were maintained by me. The names of all the associates of Jung Bahadur are written in the records and files which are with Ismail, who resides at Nargaon, Taluka Rajura. But it is not known whether the records and files are now in the same place. After the arrest of Ismail, the records were kept divided with Eswantiah, who resides at Dhanirah and with Ramchander Giri, devotee, residing at Bamni. Jung Bahadur had dictated certain letters to me. These related to conquering the forts of Ausa, Udgir, Thana Rajura, Naldurg, etc. He dictated letters adressed to Vithoba Patel, to the Deshmukh and Patel of Amba, to the Deshmukh of Chincholi, to Dambaji Patel to Govind Rao Patwari, to Raoji Mahar Patwari of Laktajol, to Sitaji Patel of Sardari, to Vasant Rao Deshmukh of Doongaon, to Jiwan Naik residing at Bamni, to Vinayak of Sawargaon, to Appa Rao Patel, to Babu Makasi residing at Vardal, to Virappa Govind residing at Tolagaon, Taluka Vardal, and to Samaji Makasi residing at Ajansad, Taluqa Vardal. The letters contained the information that the superintendent of Vardal, etc. had been the Jung Bahadur's well-wishers, and that the said Jung Bahadur would go to them when circumstances permitted and so on. All the documents are kept in the files. If the said superintendents had not been the accomplices of Jung Bahadur, they could not have helped him to escape from Ashti when the Government forces attacked this place. This fact is well-known to Tukka Ram the Patel of Ashti, Narsing Rao, the Patel of Desghar and to Bhavani Patel.'

The gist of the statement of Vithoba given at the Court of the Magistrate on 29th Zilhej, 1833 Hijri, is as follows:-

'First of all Jung Bahadur as a devotee came to

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Ramtark. Afterwards, it was known that he was a Raja. I, therefore, accepted his service. I used to write the letters which he dictated. These letters were addressed to Sitaji Patel and many other persons. The letters pertained to recruitment of an army. Many letters were despatched through me. Jung Bahadur wrote a *hundi* for Rs. 2000 and sent it to the Patel of Tuljapur and another for Rs. 20,000 which he sent to Bawa. These were handed to me for delivery. But the persons to whom these *hundis* were sent did not give the amounts. They said that the amounts would be given, if Jung Bahadur came in person. These *hundis* are kept with Hari Rao, residing at Kasari. I am not aware of the place where the files and records of Jung Bahadur have been kept. The real name of Jung Bahadur is Madhu Rao. The amount that had been demanded by Jung Bahadur through me was intended to recruit an army, so that battles might be fought and the country of Satara might be conquered. Many persons had accepted alliance with Jung Bahadur. Bhim Rao was asked to collect two hundred soldiers. Jehangir Ali and Kalkar Ramanna were asked to do the same. If Balkishen is allowed to accompany me, I can trace out both the *hundis* and get the mischief-makers arrested. Balkishen knows the place where the records and files are kept. Yeshwant Rao Deshmukh, Vinkar Naik of Muski, the Deputy of Sardari, the Naik of Bawangaon and the Naik of Bargaon had all connections with Jung Bahadur.

Raja Lachmati, brother of the wife of Jung Bahadur, can be got arrested as he is also preparing to create disturbances at Amba and Navbarad. Jung Bahadur had said that Raja Venkat Rao, the son of his uncle, was residing at Hyderabad. Senapati Bala Saheb is also in league with Jung Bahadur. Chatrapati Babuji had come into the city but he ran away from this place and was killed by thieves at Bachkonda.'

The gist of the letter to Sadajivant Bhao Saheb Patel, *alias* Shahmat Jung, Aujha Village, written by Jung Bahadur and recovered from Vithoba Patel, is as follows:— 'Vithoba Patel will come and explain to you the details of the work to be entrusted to you. You must attend to it soon. You must be on the west-side of the defendant. If necessary the recruits may be raised at an expense of Rs. 200. If more money is required you need not fear. If I succeed there will

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be no stringency of money. You can gather an army of a thousand or five hundred men. Vithoba Patel, is coming to you. Details may be learnt from him verbally.'

On 19th Zilhej, 1283 Hijri, the Court issued summons to the persons mentioned below:—

Shanker Rao, Bhao Patel, Balkrishna, Govind Rao Patwari, Kalkor Rammanna, Munawar Khan Rohilla and Fateh Khan Buloch.

Out of them only Shanker Rao Deshpande, Bhao Patel and Balkrishna attended the Court.

On 4th Moharram, 1284 Hijri, summons were issued to Ismail Ausui, Sotanna Nalodar, Kanokori, Ramchandergir Gosai and Bava Jadhu and orders were given for seizing the files and records of Jung Bahadur. On 6th Moharrum, 1284 H., Govind Rao was summoned from Darul Insha with statements and papers to give evidence in the case. Orders were also issued to Faiz Mohammed Khan and others to furnish sureties.

A letter from Darul Insha has been received for taking security from the reporter. Without taking this security, the matter cannot be proceeded with. The Special Tribunal has received a copy of letter from the Resident on 29th Zilhej, 1283 H. in which orders have been given to conduct the enquiry of the case speedily.

It appears from the contents of the file that Jung Bahadur, defendant, had given deeds of agreement bearing his seal in which details about raising recruits and the rates of salary to be paid to them have been mentioned. It has also been recorded that Englishmen be killed and the country of Satara be redeemed. This has been admitted in the Court by Balkishtayya *alias* Balkrishna and Bhim Rao, Defendant No. 2. Bhim Rao has also admitted his making an agreement with and receiving Rs. 25 from Balkrishna for expenses. Eshwantayya, defendant, has acknowledged himself and Jehangir Ali going to Ausa as recruiting agents on behalf of Balkrishen. In this context Jehangir Ali has acknowledged his having received Rs. 15 as advance. He has also stated his going with Eshwantayya for recruiting. Vir Bhadrayya, defendant, has stated that he had gone to Govind Rao's house for buying *Jawar* but he was arrested for no reason.

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Balkishen, defendant, had induced him to enlist himself in the service of Jung Bahadur and had given him an agreement after writing his name and antecedents and Jung Bahadur had affixed his seal to it. Jung Bahadur had sent through Bhim Rao a *hundi* for Rs. 20,000 in the name of Khankoya and another for Rs. 2,000 in the name of the Patel of Tuljapur and had asked him to bring the amounts. These amounts were demanded for raising an army but the *hundis* were returned. The amounts were to be paid to Jung Bahadur himself. These *hundis* are stated to be preserved in the files. When Jung Bahadur went to the stronghold of Ashti for fighting, he took the files along with him. Jung Bahadur had got compiled an account of one lakh of rupees. He had also dictated letters for the capture of the fortresses of Ausa, Udgir, Naldurg and Thana Rajura. He had sent these through Vithoba to Bahlan. The documents of Bahlan seem to be included in the files of Jung Bahadur. Rakkohba, defendant, has stated that he took these letters to Bahlan. He has also explained to the Court the purport of these letters. He also confirms the pecuniary transactions of Jung Bahadur.

Under these circumstances, the case is incomplete, but the crime is heavy. It is proved that a deed of agreement was given to Bhim Rao, defendant, to raise an army. The army was required to conquer Satara and to kill Englishmen. He had received from Jung Bahadur Rs. 25 for expenses. The evidence adduced also confirms the complicity of Balkishen. It has been proved that Eshwanta Naik delivered letters, recruited supporters, and also delivered the *hundi* for Rs. 20,000. Vithoba attests these facts. It is also proved that Jehangir Ali was employed in the service of the Jung Bahadur and he received an advance amount. Vir Bhadrayya has denied the charges against him and the statements of other persons do not prove his guilt. He is therefore 'not guilty'. But the other defendants are liable to punishment commensurate with their guilt.

It is therefore ordered that Ram Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur, Bhim Rao, Balkrishen and Vithoba should suffer life-imprisonment with transportation beyond the sea. Eshwanta and Jehangir Ali are each awarded 14 years rigorous imprisonment. Vir Bhadrayya is acquitted. Balkrishen and Vithoba have been promised release so that they may trace the files of Jung Bahadur and the *hundis* for Rs. 20,000 and Rs. 2,000 and help in rounding up the mischief-mongers.

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The seal may be broken. The Marathi papers may be returned. The case is closed and the file may be sent for being preserved in the archives of the State.

12*th Muharram*, 1284 H.

(Sd.) NASRULLAH KHAN.

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Names of the collaborators of Jung Bahadur whose list was furnished by Vithoba Patil on 24th Ziqada, 1282 H.:—

Those people who were given the kowl in Vithoba's presence:—

1. Bhim Rao, resident of Biedoor.
2. Rama of Malkapur.
3. Arab Jagirdar.
4. Eswant Naikwar.
5. Bapurao Mookasi, resident of Melkot village.
6. Raoji Narayan, resident of village Khevadal.
7. Patel, Nandgaon.
8. Patel, Raopur.
9. Pandurang Patel, resident of village Kolba.
10. Raoji Deshmukh, resident of Babalgaon.
11. Govind Rao Patel, resident of Mathpur.
12. Nakaram, tailor, resident of village Latur.
13. Bhagwant Rao Patel, resident of village Garjulak.
14. Govind Rao Patel, Warsingh.
15. Jaikar, resident of village Warski.
16. Miyaji, resident of village Gadwadski.
17. Ramji, Maratha.
18. Maliah Kodi, resident of Mazram Yeergah.
19. Jahan Khan.
20. Patel, Chawool.
21. Patel, Maddal.
22. Sadhu, resident of Rinchoor.
23. Baksh Khan Jamadar, resident of Rajool.
24. Mahadji Patel.
25. Santua Patel.
26. Patel, Yeri.
27. Patel, Mazra Saral.
28. Fateh Khan.
29. Kishen Mokasi.

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30. Bisaji Patel, resident of Mangali.
31. Sambhaji Patel, resident of Magal.
32. Harbaji Patel, resident of Tanyal.
33. Lal Patel, resident of Tapool.
34. Govind Rao Patel, resident of Khawl.
35. Ismail Bhari, resident of Ari.
36. Yenkoya, resident of Magli.
37. Angappa Jadhav, resident of Magli.
38. Mahadusavar, resident of Magli.
39. Sadusadat, resident of Magli.
40. Langaloo Yelam Chawhan.
41. Barvi Raoji Patel.
42. Patel of Khovadal.
43. Satiah Gumashta, resident of Suroor.
44. Mahadar Ilaqadar Patel, Suroor.
45. Balu, resident of Bamni.
46. Bhav Patel, resident of Achi.
47. Nana, resident of Moli.
48. Qasim Bhai, Hindustani.

Those to whom the Gosain gave the kowl:—

1. Patel, resident of Achol.
2. Babaji Patel.
3. Balu Patel, resident of Dhamangaon.
4. Deeriah.
5. Gosain, resident of Jobhi.
6. Emaji Patel.
7. Patel of Magar.
8. Patel Zunardar, resident of Mesoor.
9. Sambaji Patel, resident of Suroor.
10. Lal Patel, resident of Vaddal.
11. Bhimrao Patel.
12. Munaji Patel, resident of Naiyergaon.
13. Police Patel, resident of Samool Kolak.
14. Kulkarni, of Samool Kolak.
15. Patel Chincholi, Taluq Yesar.
16. Bajirao Patel, Ausa. –

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17. Patel, Gadri.
18. Patel of Ajner in Deoni Taluq.
19. Ismail Patel, resident of Akalkha.
20. Patel, Nagar.
21. Patel, Tuljapur.
22. Arab, Ausa.
23. Narsingrao Patel.
24. Deshpande Minhalkar.
25. Raoji Nirali.
26. Nikaram Patel, resident of Ashti.

Persons to whom the Head Gosain had given the kowl:—

1. Bhimrao Patel, resident of Jadigaon.
2. Jaiwant Rao Naik.
3. Yeswant Rao Deshmukh, resident of Downgaon,
4. Raoji Barari, Gumashta of Deshpande.
5. Deshmukh, Telika.
6. Naik, Sanwargaon.
7. Lachman Patel, resident of Barora.
8. Kulkarni Jadgaonkar.
9. Yeswanta, resident of Jaregaon.
10. A resident of Nalika.
11. Sadashiv Pandit, Gumashta of Deshpande, resident of Vardah.
12. Balu Atar.
13. Deshmukh, Porihal.
14. Deshmukh, Bhavar, Chincholi Taluq.

Those persons who had gone to Gadi Ashti:—

1. Nikaram Patel.
2. Kulkarni, Ashti.
3. Fateh Khan.
4. Kanuba, Aban.
5. Pandurang Patel.
6. Bapurao Patel.
7. Ramgir Gosain.
8. Jahan Khan.
9. Patel, Khovaddal.
10. Ismail, resident of Ari.

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Chapter XII

A SECOND ATTACK ON SIR SALAR JUNG

With the conclusion of the trial of Ram Rao *alias* Jung Bahadur the last of the reactions proceeding from the affairs of 1857-58 seems to have come to a close in Hyderabad. This conspiracy is a measure of the combustible material which existed in Hyderabad, especially in the Maharatta districts, against the British about this time.

A second attempt on the Life of Salar Jung

The policy of Salar Jung of close collaboration with the British had created a number of enemies for him. In a foregoing chapter the attack on Salar Jung and Colonel Davidson, the Resident, early in 1859 by Jahangir Ali has been described. The Persian poster appearing at the time when the Nizam received the *Star of India* contained hostile references to Salar Jung.

In 1868 another attempt was made on the life of Salar Jung. The details of this attack are given below:—

"Early in 1868 a desperate attempt made on the Minister's life fortunately proved unsuccessful. Mention has already been made of the attempt in 1860. On the present occasion, 27th January 1868, the Minister was proceeding in a sedan chair, styled a bocha, to the Ramzan Eed Darbar at His Highness's Palace. His sedan was surrounded by a number of retainers, and when the procession was passing through one of the narrow streets close to the Palace, a man in the crowd fired two pistol-shots in rapid succession. The first shot mortally wounded one of the Minister's attendants, the second grazed Sir Salar's turban, glanced off the wood-work of the chair, and wounded another attendant. The assassin was secured at once, and would have been cut to pieces by the crowd, but the Minister interfered and bade them make him a prisoner and convey him to his Palace. After the confusion had subsided Sir Salar Jung proceeded to His Highness's Palace, and occupied his usual position at the Darbar. The Nizam, to whom news of the attempt on his Minister's life had been conveyed before his arrival, warmly congratulated Sir Salar on his escape. The man was subsequently handed over to the Kotwal of the

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city, and after a patient investigation was sentenced to suffer death by decapitation, the usual form of capital punishment at Haidarabad, except in the case of Arab malefactors, who are shot to death by a firing party of their own tribe. The Minister endeavoured to procure a commutation of the sentence to imprisonment, but the Nizam would not listen to any recommendation of mercy, and the execution took place on the 21st of February."[1]

Further references to the attack on Salar Jung which appeared in the contemporary papers are given below:—

(1)

"*Bombay Gazette,* February 3, 1868.—From our correspondent at Hyderabad, dated 29th ultimo:—

'An attempt was made the day before yesterday by a man in the city of Hyderabad to take the life of Sir Salar Jung while on a visit to His Highness the Nizam. The 27th was the *Koothba,* or the last day of the fast *Ramzan,* and according to custom, about eleven O'clock on that day Salar Jung was taking *nuzur* to the Nizam, when a fellow armed with a pistol came out of a petty shop, where he would appear to have waited for His Excellency, and deliberately fired at him. As fate would have it, however, he missed his aim, but shot one of Salar Jung's attendants, who is said to have been fatally wounded. Finding that the first shot did not bring down his man he discharged another pistol, which he had concealed beneath his clothes, but, either through excitement or in his endeavours to defend himself from the mob who attacked him, he missed his mark the second time, but knocked over a poor woman, who is said to have died almost immediately. The villain was at once captured, and awaits his trial. But for Salar Jung's interference the wretch would have been disposed of on the spot by the Minister's followers. Salar Jung's conference with the Nizam is said to have extended over *two hours,* a most unusual occurrence. On his return from his master's palace, Salar Jung took the very way he went, and, as if in defiance of his enemies, he rode in a more open conveyance than that in which he was fired at.'"[2]

(2)

"*Times of India,* February 4, 1868.—THE ATTEMPT ON THE LIFE OF SALAR JUNG.—The news of this outrage has

1. *A Memoir of Sir Salar Jung,* G.C.S.I., by Syed Hussain Bilgrami, pp. 73-74.
2. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 39.

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already doubtless been flashed far and wide by the telegraph; the details of it, so far as they have yet transpired, are as follows:—

Sir Salar Jung was on his way in a sedan to the durbar of H.H. the Nizam on Monday, 27th January, the last day of the feast of the Ramzan. The *cortege* was suddenly brought to a standstill in the narrow streets by a pistol shot fired straight into the sedan by a Mussulman who was standing not more than six or seven paces distance. The ball lodged in the framework of the sedan, and uncomfortably close to the Minister's head. Before the assassin could be disarmed or cut down, probably before the retinue had recovered from their first consternation, he fired another shot. This also missed the Minister, but unfortunately struck a peon who happened to be alongside the door of the sedan, wounding him mortally. The poor fellow drew his *jawbeer* and attacked the Mussulman; he succeeded in wounding the villian slightly, and then died. The exasperated attendants would speedily have cut the Mussulman to pieces, but Sir Salar Jung, who never for one moment lost his presence of mind, forbade any further violence, and the man was simply secured. Let us hope that he will soon meet the reward of his mad and murderous act."[1]

(3)

"*Englishman,* February 7, 1868.—We have received the following particulars relative to the attempt on the life of Sir Salar Jung from our special correspondent at Hyderabad, under date 27th ultimo:—

'Today the whole city has been thrown into a fever of excitement by a daring and determined attempt on the life of the Minister, Mooktar-ool-Moolk. Sir Salar Jung was proceeding to the palace of the Nizam on his *bocha,* a sort of state palanquin, in order to be present at the customary Eed durbar, when he had a narrow escape for his life. The *bocha* surrounded by the Minister's attendants, had almost reached the palace, when two shots in rapid succession were fired. At the first discharge one of the attendants, a jewan or guard, fell dead almost at the Minister's feet. The second shot glanced off the *bocha* and severely wounded another of the retinue. There was in an instant a great commotion round Sir Salar Jung, and a report of what

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, p. 39.

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had occurred was instantly conveyed to the Nizam. During the confusion an Arab mercenary drew his *jhambea* and wounded the assassin in the arm. The man was secured at once and marched off under a strong guard to the residence of the Minister, who proceeded to the palace and took his usual place in the durbar. The Nizam expressed much concern at the untoward occurrence, and congratulated Sir Salar Jung on his escape. After the durbar the Dewan mounted his elephant and proceeded to his own residence, and shortly afterwards the assassin was made over to the Kotwal. Various reports were immediately in circulation: one was to the effect that the man was a Mahomedan out of employ, whilst another asserted that he had accomplices, and that one of these men had been taken. You do not require to be reminded that Hyderabad is a very hothouse of intrigues and plots against the only man who appears able to carry on the business of the State. Circumstances are supposed by many to have favoured the development of these intrigues of late. Sir George Yule was well acquainted with them, but he has just left India. Sir Richard Temple, in his short tenure of the office of Resident, also had to learn what forms the staple of political life here. Colonel Thornhill, too, who has just returned to India, and who was here in troublous times, knows the relations of all parties, and would have no difficulty in deciding as to the cause of the recent attempt on the Minister's life.

28th:—I hear this morning that the man who attacked the Minister has been recognized as a sentry at the mosque of Shums-ool-Oomrah. Popular opinion appears to direct suspicion towards this house, probably because of its well-known dislike of the Minister. I think it only fair to state that on the other hand there are many who declare the assassin was a tool of the Arabs, who are at mortal feud with Salar Jung on account of his having resumed the lands held by them in mortgage, and for the payment of the wages of their mercenary bands.' "[1]

(4)

"*Englishman,* April 2, 1868. Our Hyderabad correspondent, writing under date 24th ultimo, informs us that the would-be assassin of Sir Salar Jung was executed on Saturday, 21st idem. He is said to have gone to his death without making any confession."[2]

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1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. III, pp. 41-42.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 44.

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Chapter XIII

THE REFORMS OF SIR SALAR JUNG AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE STATE

In the year 1853, after the death of the then Minister Sirajul-Mulk, Salar Jung was called upon by the Nizam Nasir-ud-Daula Bahadur on May 31 to take charge of the office of the *Dewan* or the Chief Minister. The administration of Hyderabad at this time was in a chaotic condition. The State had parted with the rich and fertile districts of Berar, Dharashiv and Raichur on account of payment for the Contingent Forces. Large portions of the State were also held in mortgage by various chiefs mainly Arabs and Rohillas, who had considerable financial claims on the State. There were no sources of revenue even to pay the salaries of the relatives of the Nizam and the Mansabdars. The Nizam's jewels had also been pledged. There was no civil administration worth the name in the districts, which were held by corrupt officials, usurious chiefs or farmers of revenues. The debts which the State owed to local merchants and others amounted to 2 crores and 70 lakhs of rupees.

Salar Jung early resolved to settle the matters right. The first action taken by him was to settle the claims of the Rohillas and the Arabs and other chiefs and redeem the mortgages, disband useless levies and exercise control on the military chiefs who were habituated to create strifes in the city for the payment of their dues. This was achieved slowly but steadily and in course of time the mortgaged districts came again in the possession of the Government and the claims of the merchants and military chiefs were also settled.

Before Salar Jung could achieve even this reform, the outbreak of 1857 occurred in the Hyderabad City itself. Salar Jung supported the Government of India wholeheartedly and assisted them in establishing normal conditions in the State. The Nizam Nasir-ud-Daula died in May 1857 and was succeeded by his son Afzal-ud-Daula. The relations of the Nizam and his ministers were none too cordial and twice during the course of ten years Salar Jung was about to be dismissed from his post by his master, who was exceedingly jealous of the Minister. This was averted by the efforts of

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Col. Davidson in 1860 and of Yule in 1867. After the year 1858 Salar Jung embarked on his schemes for the better administration of the State. Corrupt officials were removed from the districts and men of character posted in their places. The restoration of the districts of Dharashiv and Raichur in 1860 which had seen better administration under the East India Company enabled Salar Jung to visualise an improved system of revenue administration. In the year 1867 the system known as *Zilebandi* was promulgated. Under this scheme the State was divided into 5 divisions and 17 districts. Salaried officials were appointed to the divisions, districts and tahsils. At the same time the Judicial, Public Works, Medical, Municipal, Police and Education Departments were brought into proper organization.

The system of assessment of land revenue was faulty in the extreme. It was therefore decided to start a Land Revenue Survey and Settlement Department in 1875. Within a short period the assessment system was thoroughly overhauled and the land revenue administration was settled on conditions similar to those obtaining in Bombay and other adjacent areas.

The Nizam Afzal-ud-Daula died in February 1869 and was succeeded by his infant son Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, who was hardly 3 years old at the time of his accession. With the approval of the Government of India Salar Jung and Ameer-e-Kabir Bahadur were appointed co-regents until the Nizam should come of age. This gave Salar Jung freedom from the jealous and galling influence of the late Nizam and enabled him to go ahead with further reforms in the State.

Communications in the State were steadily improving and the Hyderabad-Sholapur Road had been completed by 1860. The Bombay-Madras Railway line had touched parts of the State like Gulbarga and Wadi by 1868. By 1878 the city of Hyderabad was connected by a broad gauge line running from Hyderabad to Wadi with the Bombay-Madras Railway.

To improve the administration of the State Salar Jung attracted talents available in all parts of the country and as a result a number of people from U.P., Bengal, Bombay and Madras entered the services in Hyderabad. Some of them became famous in later days and distinguished themselves in various walks of life. Famous among them, who

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were drawn to Hyderabad under Salar Jung's inspiration, were Syed Hussain Imadul Mulk Bilgrami, Dr. Syed Ali Bilgrami, Mushtaq Hussain, Wiqarul-Mulk, Syed Mehdi Ali Mohsin Mulk, Mohib Hussain, Abdul Khayum, Dr. Aghornath Chatopadhyaya and others. Legal talent was attracted from Bengal and Madras and we find a number of lawyers starting their practice in the courts of Hyderabad and the Residency. Some of these lawyers like Ramchandra Pillay, Bar-at-Law Rudra and others attained great fame in public life in the nineties of the 19th century.

The judiciary had been improved by Salar Jung and a High Court and also a court of appeal had come into existence by the time Salar Jung's regime came to a close.

In the field of education a beginning was made during this period. A medical school founded in 1844 had already sent out a number of doctors in the districts. In the year 1855 the *Darul-Ulum* High School was established for education in English and Oriental languages. The City High School was established in 1870 and the Chaderghat High School in 1872. An Engineering School was started in 1870 with a view to train students for service in the Public Works Department, and the *Madrasa-e-Aizza* School for the Nizam's family members was opened in 1878. The school for noblemen founded in the residence of the Minister in 1873 later developed into the *Madrasa-e-Aliya*. The Intermediate Classes attached to the Chaderghat High School were later joined to the *Madrasa-e-Aliya*, resulting in the establishment of the Nizam College in 1887.

Thus the reforms of Salar Jung, besides the pacification of the State, resulted in the growth of an educated element in the country. The introduction of fresh talent from other parts of India resulted in the growth of a middle class public opinion in the State. Although this introduction of people from outside led to a friction between the outsiders and the domiciles of the State known as the *Mulki* and non-*Mulki* agitation yet a general awakening in the State was caused in no small measure by the people who had been drawn to Hyderabad from outside. It was during this period of Salar Jung's regime that English and Urdu journals began to appear in the State and considerably helped the growth of public opinion.

In his tours in India Salar Jung came into contact with the movement for educational and social reforms started by

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Sir Syed Ahmed at Aligarh. The efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed had the full and active sympathy of Salar Jung who released considerable financial assistance to the activities of Sir Syed Ahmed and his followers. Two officers of the Hyderabad State Wiqar-ul-Mulk and Mohsin-ul-Mulk, who worked under Salar Jung, were later to take a zealous part in the development of the Aligarh College and other educational activities.

Thus Salar Jung's period of office from 1853-1883 was a formative period for Hyderabad.

In his attitude to the British there are two distinct phases in the career of Salar Jung. Up to the year 1867 Salar Jung did not raise any claims with the British about the restoration of Berar, but once peaceful conditions were restored in the State, he took up what he considered as his life's mission namely the return of Berar to Hyderabad. From 1867 for a period of 10 years Salar Jung entered into prolonged correspondence with the Residents and the Government of India for the restoration of Berar and for giving greater political status to Hyderabad based on old treaties and agreements. The Government of India started viewing the diplomatic efforts of Salar Jung with suspicion. It is not necessary in this volume, to go into the details of the Berar question. Suffice it to say that the Government of India was annoyed at the efforts of Salar Jung in this direction. Finding it impossible to get justice done at the hands of the Governemnt of India Salar Jung paid a visit to England to explore all possibilities of opening the subject with the British Government. But due to the persistence of the Government of India these efforts came to nothing. The Government of India took alarm at the activities of Salar Jung and were determined to check him. The opportunity came when the Co-regent Ameer-e-Kabir died in April 1877. The Government of India decided to appoint his brother Wiqar-ul-Omrah to the post of the Co-regent. Salar Jung protested, as Wiqar-ul-Omrah was known to be definitely hostile to him and he even threatened to resign. Under the instructions of Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, Salar Jung was informed that the appointment of Wiqar-ul-Omrah would be proceeded with and that if Salar Jung decided to resign his resignation would be accepted. Salar Jung had to yield. Further, on 12th June 1878 he had to agree to the postponement of the Berar question till the Nizam came of age. Thus in this field the efforts of Salar

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Jung were frustrated. But there is no doubt that while the British Government admired the energy, skill and high character of Salar Jung they were deeply suspicious of his efforts to restore Hyderabad to a higher political status than the actual position warranted. This is what Lord Lytton said about Sir Salar Jung in his letter to Sir Richard Meade:—

"My dear Sir Richard—The intrigues of Sir Salar Jung were regarded by me as the greatest danger to which the British power in India was exposed during my own Vice-royalty,—a danger far greater than any which was involved in war or famine.

That danger was imminent, and if the gravity of it remained unknown to the public and to Parliament it is because it was unostentatiously but effectually averted and its recurrence rendered impossible by the skill and courage with which you most ably carried out your onerous instructions in dealing with it." [1]

The British imperialist view of Sir Salar Jung's character is summed up in the following:—

"But in matters of *la haute politiqe* affecting the relations between the British Government and the Nizam, Sir Salar Jung was a dreamer, not a statesman; deserving not, indeed, harsh judgment but a place, with Rienzi, in the category of those *qui ont pris les souvenirs pour les esperances.*

He dreamed of Hyderabad in the last century, when the Mughal Empire was dying and the power of England was represented by a trading company. He forgot that the power, so represented then, was now successor to the throne of the Mughals from which the Nizam derived his title and jurisdiction, and to which he remained, in name at least, subordinate. That power was constituted by treaty supreme protector of Hyderabad from external and internal foes; but, irrespective of treaty rights, it could not, as Suzerain, acting in the interests of peace, allow the existence of an independent principality in the heart of India. So the Minister's aspirations had to be opposed, and the brunt of the opposition fell on Meade."[2]

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1. *General Sir Richard Meade and the Feudatory States of Central and Southern India* by Thornton, p. 361.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 349.

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Chapter XIV

WASUDEV BALWANT PHADKE

In the year 1879 the famous Maratha revolutionary Wasudev Balwant Phadke visited the border villages of the Gulbarga district in Hyderabad with a view to raise troops of Arabs and Rohillas for the furtherance of his cause. He stayed for a considerable time at Gandgapur and was in contact with Ismail Khan and other Rohilla chiefs who were persuaded to raise levies in Wasudev Balwant's support. On the 16th of July, 1879 Major Daniel, Superintendent of Police, Bombay, learnt of Wasudev Balwant's residence in the Hyderabad State. A telegram was despatched to the British Resident at Hyderabad by the Governor of Bombay informing him of Major Daniel's arrival at Hyderabad and asking him to render necessary assistance in the capture of Wasudev Balwant. Major Daniel accordingly arrived in Hyderabad on the evening of Thursday the 17th of July 1879. The Resident communicated with Sir Salar Jung and requested that a special Officer be deputed to assist Major Daniel. Accordingly Abdul Huq, a Police Officer, was ordered to accompany Major Daniel for the arrest of Wasudev Balwant. The party left Hyderabad on the 19th of July accompanied by Mr. Stevenson, Inspector of Police, Berars. At Gulbarga Abdul Huq collected a force of 100 Sowars, 200 constables, 8 Jemedars, 8 Dafedars and one Superintendent. Major Daniel had already proceeded ahead to the Godoor railway station and from there to Gunnoor at a distance of 20 miles. Abdul Huq with his party joined him on the 20th. Major Daniel and Stevenson proceeded to Sungam. The large temple at this place was thoroughly searched. Syed Abdul Huq surrounded the village of Gunnoor and arrested all Brahmins of the temple. Jointly with Major Daniel he questioned the Brahmins arrested in the village. Information given by Rangopant Moreshwar revealed that Wasudev Balwant had left for Pandharpoor and that he was ferried across the Bhima on Thursday the 17th July by one Mira Saheb. The party then started in pursuit of Wasudev Balwant and came upon him and his companions at Devangiri in the Bijapur district, 6 miles from the borders of Hyderabad. At 2 a. m. on Monday the 21st of July Major Daniel and Abdul Huq entered the temple and succeeded in

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arresting Wasudev Balwant and his companion Gopal Moreshwar. Papers found in the possession of Wasudev Balwant contained instructions for the planned insurrection against the British Government. After the arrest, Major Daniel and Abdul Huq returned to Gunnoor where the Brahmins were questioned. Nine of them were detained in custody while the others were released. Abdul Huq found out that Wasudev Balwant was in communication with the Arabs and Rohillas in the area, one of whom Ismail Khan had promised to enlist 500 persons, 200 mounted and 300 infantry. Wasudev Balwant had advanced Rs. 2,000 to the Rohillas for the purchase of horses and had promised a further advance of Rs. 3,000. Wasudev Balwant was on his way to Pandharpur when he was arrested. On suspicion of harbouring Wasudev Balwant 35 other persons were also arrested. During the course of the enquiry statements made by a number of persons revealed the nature of the activities carried on by Wasudev Balwant in the district of Gulbarga. The statements are summarised below[1]:—

Statement of Janoji Rao.

"About 20 days ago Venkopunt and Balwant Baba came to Allur. The Rohilla Ismail Khan was also there. I heard that Balwant Baba had a talk with Ismail Khan about the recruitment of the Rohillas. It was decided to raise 500 Rohillas or as many of them as possible. The deed of contract between Balwant Baba and Ismail Khan was drafted by Venkopunt. Every man was to be paid Rs. 10 p. m. After the contract was signed Venkopunt returned to Afzalpur and Balwant Baba remained behind to arrange for the payment of the money to Ismail Khan. Ismail Khan made a short trip to Gudnoor to raise troops. After his return, he demanded money from Balwant Baba, who promised that he would get money from Poona. Ismail Khan was appointed the Jemadar of the Rohillas. Balwant Baba asked me to join in plundering the British territory. I agreed, but no arrangements for payment to me were made. I was present when Balwant Baba and Ismail Khan were conversing with each other. Balwant Baba told Ismail Khan that he wanted to raise Rohillas, fight against the British and plunder their territory. I know Venkopunt as he was employed in the Customs Department and used to pass by the village of Allur in his tours between Afzalpur and Gandgapur. Venkopunt had informed me before drafting the

1. From files preserved in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad.

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contract that Balwant Baba wanted to take Rohillas in his service. Seven Deccanies and four Rohillas had already been recruited. Besides, there were three Rohillas available in Gandgapur. When the contract was signed the following persons were present: (1) Shahabuddin Deccani, (2) Hussain Ahmed Deccani, (3) three Rohillas and (4) Venkopunt."

Statement of Shaik Saad.

"About a fortnight back Venkopunt came accompanied by a bearded Brahmin. He was negotiating with Ismail Khan for recruitment of Rohillas. He asked me to accept service under him. I refused. Ismail Khan offered his services and rebuked us (Deccanies) for being cowards. Next day Ismail Khan accompanied me to Gudnoor as he was to negotiate with Rohillas there. The Rohillas of Gudnoor refused, asking that they might be arrested and hanged. Only four of the Rohillas in Gudnoor agreed to serve under Ismail Khan. There were also about 25 persons available there. Ismail Khan had promised to recruit about 500 Rohillas."

Statement of Ranganath Ishwar Bhat, the Customs Clerk.

"I met Wasudev Balwant at a place between Dudhani and Gandgapur about 2½ years ago. Six months after this event I had been to Poona and stayed with Wasudev Balwant for a day. I saw weapons in his house. He met me when he next came to Gandgapur. He stayed with me for two days and then left on a pilgrimage to Srishaila. He deposited four bars of silver with the priest of the temple, Raoji Daji Bhat. I purchased gold from Wasudev Balwant and paid him Rs. 10 as the price. When Wasudev Balwant was putting up with me at Gandgapur I saw him settling the quarrels of four persons who seem to have accompanied him from the hills. During his next visit to Gandgapur Wasudev Balwant resided in the temple. He was sick and considerably weakened. I attended to his needs.

At this time he was very much grieved at the death of his friend Daulat Rao. Wasudev had offered me a gold necklace and two precious stones asking me to raise troops. Wasudev informed me that he would be going to Poona. He often used to say that his aim was to loot the British territory and disrupt railway lines and telegraph wires. Wasudev

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Balwant had handed me a letter addressed to Bhasker Joshi and Moulvi Mahmood, an officer in the Irregular Army establishment at Hyderabad. Later, Wasudev entered into an agreement with Ismail Khan about the recruitment of troops. I signed the agreement which was handed over by Wasudev to Ismail Khan. The latter informed me that he would go to Gandgapur, Narayankhed, Alland and if necessary to Hyderabad to raise troops. Wasudev had taught us the handling of guns. Myself, Wasudev and Gopal used to practise shooting in the gardens. Once while we were engaged in practice, we heard that Sulaiman and his associates had arrived in the village. Although they gave out that they were out for hunting, I suspected that they might have come for arresting Wasudev. After some time I took Wasudev and ferried him across the river. I had informed one Sayanna to raise 50 persons for Wasudev Balwant. The Brahmins of Sangam knew Wasudev Balwant very well. They were making all arrangements for the stay of Wasudev at Sangam.

When the police surrounded the village I asked my mother to bury the papers of Wasudev. They were destroyed by her after I was arrested. Wasudev informed me that he had seen the Maharaja Holkar of Indoor and had asked him to help him, but that the Maharaja had refused on the ground that the British were very powerful."

* * *

After the arrest of Wasudev Balwant, Abdul Huq, as has been related above, arrested a number of persons on suspicion of their being accomplices of Wesudev Balwant. Besides Ismail Khan, who had agreed to furnish 500 Rohillas on a salary of Rs. 10 p.m. per person, Ramoshis and Naiks had also, it appears, accepted Wasudev Balwant's suggestion to raise a considerable number of armed adherents. Abdul Huq first moved to Andnur where Ismail Khan and his associates were disarmed and arrested. They were taken to Gudnoor. During the night a mob of Rohillas determined to rescue Ismail Khan, but they were pacified by a local officer. The Ramoshi Naiks were also arrested. The trial of accomplices and persons arrested during this period makes a sorry recording. These persons 35 in number were lodged in the Gulbarga jail and in spite of their repeated requests were denied an enquiry for a long time. During their incarceration 4 persons died. This delay in bringing out

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these persons for trial created an agitation on in the Press.

The following extracts are from the contemporary papers:—

(1)

"*Deccan Times,* January 31, 1880.—*Moglai Dilly-dallying.*—It will be remembered that about seven months ago, when the famous, or rather infamous, Wasudeo Balwant was captured, a number of men were arrested in the Goolburga district, on suspicion of having taken service under that noted rebel, against the British Government, in his scheme of brigandage. The affair created rather a sensation at the time, and was almost invested with a sort of political importance. It was sought to be made out that hundreds of Arabs and Rohillas said to have been bought over by Wasudeo Balwant would, after the capture of their employer, roam the country as freebooters, levying blackmail all around. When the Bolarum dacoity took place, the suddenness and daring of the deed, together with the difficulty at first experienced in tracing out the offenders, led to the supposition that it was the work of these free-lances. Things turned out differently, and it is now well known what a great fuss was made of the whole business. The Nizam's Government, however, concerned itself very much in the matter, and Mr. Abdul Hak was sent off at once to inquire into it. The result of his investigations led to the arrest of 35 persons. These unfortunates have been incarcerated in the Goolburga jail even since, and have never been brought to trial, although a Commission —composed, we believe, of Major Dobbs, the Judicial Superintendent of Railways, and the Sudder Taluqdar of the Goolburga District—was appointed some time ago for the purpose. Four of these men have died in jail, and three more are said to be dying, and God only knows how many more of them will go to their long account before the case does come on for trial. The crying shame of it is that with the exception of one or two of the prisoners there does not appear to be a tittle of evidence to inculpate the others. Be this as it may, it is monstrous that these men should be treated in every way as criminals before their guilt is brought home to them. Had the delay been unavoidable there would be some excuse; but there are no earthly reasons whatever why the trial should not have taken place long ago. The men themselves have begged to be tried, and it certainly does look suspicious that seven months should be allowed to go by without anything being done. The Commission is ready to sit any day, and has been ready for ever so long a time; but there are no

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signs even yet of the case being committed. In the meanwhile the prisoners are dying off one by one in jail, and there is no telling how many more victims will be added to the list before the closing of the chapter. On whose head does the blood of these men rest? In the cause of humanity we demand to know who is responsible for this culpable delay, which is sacrificing the lives of men who must be presumed to be innocent since they have not been found guilty. It is a shame —a shame on the person whose duty it is to bring this case up for trial, and a shame on the Government that permits it.

This is not the only instance of dilly-dallying that has recently occurred. We will cite another case, which, although nothing like the disgraceful affair just commented upon, is sufficiently illustrative of the vexatious delays, in small things as well as in great, of such frequent occurrence in His Highness the Nizam's dominions. A reward of Rs. 3,000 was given by the British Government for the capture of Wassudeo Balwant. Of this amount Rs. 1,000 were forwarded to the Nizam's Government months ago, for distribution among the police who had a hand in the capture. Will it be believed that up till now the money has not been distributed? Those entitled to a share have asked for it over and over again, and whatever the reasons, it is a fact that the money is still in somebody's hands, and the persons who have a claim to it have not received any portion of it. The other Rs. 2,000 were distributed by Major Daniel to his men as soon after the receipt as possible. Further comment is useless; but we should like to know who is answerable for this delay.

For its own credit, the Nizam's Government ought to look into these things."[1]

(2)

"*Deccan Times,* February 4, 1880:—*The Gulburga Prisoners.*—Since writing the article concerning the prisoners incarcerated in the Goolburga jail it has come to our knowledge that many of these unfortunate men have over and over again petitioned that they might be released on bail, or at once be brought to trial; but no heed whatever has been paid to their prayers. Even supposing the men are guilty, the keeping them in durance vile for so long a period, under such unfavourable circumstances, is, to say the least, cruel,

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. V, pp. 851-852.

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and manifestly unjust; but it is shocking to think that perhaps innocent men—and there are sufficient reasons to believe that the majority, if not almost the whole, of them are innocent of any crime—are left to suffer and die in prison by the culpable negligence of some one in authority. Now that the matter has been brought to the notice of the Nizam's Government, we trust that speedy measures may at once be taken to bring these men to trial."[1]

(3)

"*Deccan Times*, February 4, 1880:—*Moglai Dilly-dallying*.—The following is from a correspondent who signs himself 'Justice':—

'Certainly your leader, in last Saturday's issue, headed 'Moglai Dilly-dallying', has roused the indignation and ire of all right-thinking persons everywhere. It must have been noticed by those in authority, and especially by H.E. the Minister. The Resident, unfortunately, is away, but it is to be hoped that the article in question will not escape his notice. As a Briton and a Christian, it cannot but excite his sympathies toward the poor sufferers at Goolburga, and cause immediate steps to be taken for their release. Some of them have already died, others are dying, and as for the survivors they have amply suffered on account of the culpable negligence of men who are undeserving the name of human beings, but should be branded as brutes. I would further suggest that the relatives of the prisoners who have died should be handsomely rewarded, and the claims of those in custody should not be overlooked. A human government will most undoubtedly look to this, and pass a severe censure on all those on whom the onus of this sin rests.

As for the distribution of the prize money you speak of, it perhaps has slipped into the clutches of some mammon-worshippers who do not wish to part with it, or perhaps it has already changed hands. However, it is to be fondly hoped that Sir Richard Meade will haul the parties concerned over the coals.

N.B.—In British territories laws are in force to prevent cruelty to even dumb animals. In one of the Calcutta Courts two individuals were mulcted in the sum of Rs. 50 each for ill-treating a cat by setting their dogs on it; but, sad to say, in the Moglai, the

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Vol. V, p. 852.

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lives of men are treated with the utmost contempt and indifferenece—so much for the enlightenment of the age and those in authority.' "[1]

(4)

"*Deccan Times,* February 7, 1880:—*Moglai Atrocities.*—We lately drew attention to the disgraceful manner in which thirty-five persons were, seven months ago, incarcerated by His Highness the Nizam's officials in the Goolburga jail, and were still awaiting trial, on mere suspicion of having been associated with the doings of the infamous Wassudeo Bulwant. From facts which are constantly being brought to light it is indubitable that this case may be taken as a sample of the lax and descreditable manner in which justice is administered in the dominions of H. H. the Nizam, and of the unscrupulous abuse of authority by Moglai officials."[2]

(5)

"*Deccan Times,* February 11, 1880:—*The Goolburga Prisoners.*—In a letter signed 'Veritas':—"your articles on 'Moglai Dilly-dallying' and 'Moglai Atrocities,' which appeared in your last two issues, surprised me not a little. As regards the former allegation, anent the Moglai Dilly-dallying, I venture to say that it is a well-known fact, founded on trustworthy authorities, that the onus of the delay complained of relative to the Goolburga prisoners lies not on the Moglai Government, as surmised, but on the British, as the following facts will clearly and satisfactorily evince. The prisoners in question were arrested in connection with Wasoodew Balwant Phadke's capture, by the special requisition of the British Government in the Moglai territories, as associates of Wasoodew Balwant. The Bombay Government, as you are, no doubt, aware, were obliged to keep Wasoodew in custody for four months before putting him on trial. The fact of the matter was that the Bombay Government had to get all Wasoodew's papers translated before they could decide on what charge he could be tried, and until this was decided and the miscreant convicted (which unavoidably took up the prolonged period of about six months) his associates at Goolburga could not possibly have been tried earlier; although, after hearing that Wasoodew's case was finally disposed of, H.H. the Nizam's Government did not lose a moment's time in soliciting, and that repeatedly, the British

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. V, pp. 852-853.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 853.

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Government to send up the papers and witnesses for the trial of the Goolburga prisoners, and to release the prisoners on bail until such time that their trial took place—but to no effect, no heed being given to the representations made.

From these incontrovertible facts it cannot but clearly appear that the supposed negligence or Dilly-dallying, as you term it, does not, in any possible manner, fall into the lap of the Moglai Government, as it is clearly evident from what another Court took six months to come to any decision with regard to Wasoodew Balwant Phadke himself. I need not add an iota more to exonerate the Moglai Government from all blame of Dilly-dallying in this case. In my opinion, grounded on the above stubborn facts, that Government seems entirely innocent of the delay complained of." "[1]

(6)

"*Deccan Times,* February 18, 1880:—*The Goolburga Prisoners.*—The following is from a correspondent who signs himself 'A Brahmin':—

'.....With regard to the Goolburga prisoners, 'Veritas' evidently is not behind the scenes, as he wishes you to believe. These prisoners were not arrested at the request of the Bombay Government, but by Mr. Abdul Huk on his own responsibility after the capture of Wasoodew, and after Major Daniell had left.

Mr. Abdul Huk, I know, has been trying hard to get the Bombay Government to support him and to forward him all papers connected with Wasoodew, which they decline to do, and now he is in a fix what to do.

Mr. Abdul Huk is really the only one to blame in this unfortunate affair, but as I hear the commissioners have fixed the 20th instant for commencing the trial I will not write more on the subject now.' "[2]

(7)

'*Deccan Times,* March 28, 1880:—The public will be glad to learn that the unfortunate Goolburga prisoners have at last been brought to trial. As our readers are aware,

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. V, pp. 854-855.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 855-856.

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these wretched men were arrested on mere suspicion of having been implicated in the doings of the outlaw Wasoodeo Bulwant Phadke, but no preliminary inquiry whatever was made to determine whether there was any reason for retaining them in custody for any length of time. They were arbitrarily thrust into the dungeon of Goolburga, and kept there for eight long months without any inquiry as to their innocence or guilt, and several of these helpless and ill-used men pined away and died in jail. Probably, with the apathy characteristic of Moglai rule, the survivors might have remained in jail for another eight months, or their existence might have been altogether forgotten, had we not helped to give publicity to the case, and drawn the attention of the local government to the injustice that was being committed. We are glad that we have helped in opening the doors of the prison-house and getting the prisoners put upon their trial at last. A Court composed of Major Dobbs, the Judicial Railway Superintendent, and the Sadar Taluqdar of the Goolburga District was appointed by the Hyderabad Government to try the prisoners, and the result of the trial clearly shows the unjust and cruel suffering to which the majority of the men were subjected. Of the 29 surviving prisoners, 24 were found to be perfectly innocent, and of these 24 four were witnesses, who, in the devil-may-care style of police procedure common to Moglai government, had been bundled up with the rest and shut up in prison! Five only were found guilty: one man, a Rohilla, named Ismail Khan, was convicted of having had criminal dealings with Wasoodeo Bulwant, and was sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment; two men to one year and eighteen months respectively; and two men, the Patel and Putwari of the village Gadnoor, were fined Rs. 50 each.

What, we would ask, has the Hyderabad Government to say regarding the wrongful confinement for eight months of the 24 innocent men just released, and of them who died in jail? What return will the Government make to these unfortunates, who have lost character, health and business through judicial injustice? or what compensation will be made to the families of those who died in jail? If such a case could by any possibility have occurred in England, the official who was guilty of imprisoning innocent men and witnesses for eight months would most probably be hooted by the mob, besides receiving the penalty that a just and upright Government could mete out. We leave this painful case to the consideration of the Hyderabad Government, hoping that the

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notice which the public have taken of it will tend to the introduction of some check on the reckless actions of police and judicial officers in the Moglai service."[1]

* * *

As a result of the trial the following persons were sentenced to imprisonment and fines:

1.	Ismail Khan, Rohilla	.. 7 years imprisonment
2.	Chatroo Naik	.. 1 year
3.	Ramchandra Vishwamitra	.. 1½ years
4.	Ramchandra Hanuman	.. fined Rs. 50
5.	Poorapah Dhondapah	.. fined Rs. 50

The remaining persons were discharged. The judgment was delivered on 17th March 1880 by the Commissioners appointed for the purpose, *viz.,* Major Dobbs, Judicial Superintendent of H.H. the Nizam's Railway, and Mr. Mohammed Ekramulla Khan, the Commissioner of Gulbarga.

That Wasudeo Balwant could attract a large number of followers to his cause in the district of Gulbarga and could secure facilities provided by the Brahmins and others at Gandgapur goes a long way to reveal the sympathy with which people in those parts of Hyderabad viewed his activities.

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1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Vol. V, p. 856.

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Chapter XV

THE RAMPA REBELLION AND ITS REPERCUSSIONS IN THE KHAMAM DISTRICT

During the same year, *i.e.*, in 1879, when Wasudev Balwant's activities were going on in the district of Gulbarga, a rebellion broke out on the Eastern borders of Hyderabad in the Godavari district. This rebellion is known as the *Rampa Rebellion* as the centre of the insurrection was the village of Rampa in the Chodavaram division of the Godavari district. About the same time trouble broke out also at Rekapalli in the Bhadrachallam taluq for entirely different reasons. These two outbreaks were put down by September 1880. As both Rampa and Rekapalli were on the borders of Hyderabad the risings in these places had their repercussions in some of the taluqs of the Khamam district. The Government of Hyderabad was also called upon to co-operate with the Madras Government in putting down the Rampa rebellion. The nature of the insurrection, its progress and its final suppression can be understood from the following:—

(1)

" At the time of the permanent settlement of 1802-03 the Rampa country was as entirely disregarded as if it had not existed, and no settlement of any part of it was made. During the disorders which arose in this district early in the nineteenth century, the mansabdar, Rambhupati Devu, descended with an armed force from the hills and took forcible possession of some villages in the plains. He was driven out of these and submitted, offering to acknowledge ' for ever the sovereignty of the Company. '

Then (in 1813) for the first time a settlement was made with him. The villages he had taken were restored to him as mokhasas and, along with his ancestral possession in the hills were confirmed to him free of peshkash on condition that he maintained order in them and prevented incursions into the low country. He appears to have leased his villages to certain subordinate hill chiefs or muttadars, whom he required to keep order in their own charges and from whom he received an income of Rs. 8,750 per annum. These were the ancestors of the present muttadars.

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He died in 1835 leaving a daughter and an illegitimate son named Sri Madhuvati Rambhupati Devu, and the former was recognized by the muttadars as heiress to the zamindari. She declined to marry, declaring her intention of following the example of a former zamindarni of the country who had remained unwedded all her life. Some time afterwards, however, her chastity was suspected, and she and her brother, both of whom were apparently detested, were driven out of the country.

They were maintained by the Government, and in 1840 the estate was placed under the Court of Wards. Grave disturbances followed (a police force was cut up in 1840) but by 1845 the more turbulent of the muttadars had been apprehended or driven to flight. The zamindarni surrendered the estate in favour of her illegitimate brother; and in 1848, after protracted negotiations, the muttadars agreed to accept this man as mansabdar and to perform their old police duties, on condition that their united quit-rents should not exceed Rs. 1,000 and that the mansabdar should never attempt to exact more from them.

The mansabdar agreed to this, but quickly broke his promise. His confiscations of muttas and oppressions of the people resulted in risings against his authority in 1858 and 1861; and such was the hatred he inspired that when, in 1862 he attempted to go and reside in his property an insurrection arose which had to be put down by a strong force of police. He continued his depredations, however, and by 1879 had succeeded in getting eight Muttas into his own enjoyment, had doubled the quit-rent in several others, and was deriving a considerabale revenue from taxes on fuel and grazing and other unauthorized cesses.

He succeeded in doing this largely by making it appear, sometimes by disgraceful devices, that all his actions had the sanction of Government; and unfortunately the officers of Government neither adequately realized what was going on in his country nor made sufficient endeavours to protect the muttadars. They forgot that the agreement of 1848 was made under the authority of Government; and some of the muttadars who complained of the mansabdar's exactions were referred to the Civil Courts, though the hill men are notorious for their dread of the plains. The growing discontent among the people was increased by new abkari regulations preventing the drawing of toddy for domestic

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purposes and leasing the toddy revenue to renters. These renters demanded that the muttadars should pay fees (called *chigurupannu*) for the right to tap toddy, and the mansabdar threatened to levy an additional tax, called *modalupannu*, at the rate of one-half or two-thirds of the *chigurupannu*.

This was the last straw, and was the immediate cause of the 'Rumpa rebellion of 1879.' The unpopularity of the police, who had assisted in introducing the new toddy rules and also oppressed the people on their own account, was a contributory cause. The people said that they could not stand all the taxes that were being imposed; that three years ago came the *chigurupannu;* that this year the mansabdar was demanding *modalupannu;* that the constables were extorting fowls; and that, as they could not live, they might as well kill the constables and die. The operations of the civil law of the country were an additional grievance. Traders from the low country had taken advantage of the simplicity of the hill men, 'who would much sooner walk into a tiger's den than put in an appearance in the Rajahmundry court,' to make unfair contracts with them, and then, if these were not fulfilled according to the traders' own interpretation, to file suits against them, obtain *ex parte* decrees, and distrain as much of their property as they could lay hands on. In satisfaction of a debt of Rs. 5, cattle and produce worth Rs. 100 had been sometimes carried off in this manner, and sometimes, it was said, the formality of a suit was dispensed with, and the trader, accompanied by a friend personating an officer of the court, made the distraint without any authority whatever. The hill people laid the blame for all this injustice on Government and Government rules and regulations, and thought that their only remedy lay in rising against the authorities.

On the 9th March 1879 the police inspector of Rampa reported that there was reason to apprehend a disturbance. The Collector had gone to Bhadrachalam, so the Sub-Collector and Superintendent of Police set out for the hills with a small body of police. At Gokavaram they met one of the muttadars who was suspected of disaffection, but he tried to allay their suspicions and accompanied them to Chodavaram. The next day, however, two policemen were stopped near that place by a body of armed men, and news was received of the capture by some insurgents of a body of police near Boduluru. Early on the 13th March a large party of hill men came close to Chodavaram and stated

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their grievances to the Sub-Collector, who went out unarmed to meet them. He attempted to reassure them and they expressed themselves satisfied; but a few minutes later they called out that they could not trust the Sircar's promises, and began firing on the camp. No particular harm was done by their fire, but the Sub-Collector's party, which consisted of 30 police of all ranks with 32 carbines, was now cut off. They had no difficulty in holding out at Chodavaram until reinforcements came up, and by the 17th the force in the village amounted to 149 men. Some 400 officers and men of the 39th Native Infantry had also been landed at Cocanada on the 16th and were moving up the country. Meanwhile, however, at Rampa two captured constables were solemnly sacrified before the chief shrine by the insurgents. The leaders of the latter announced that rebellion was their only hope, and the whole of the Rampa country was speedily ablaze.

In the next month (April) the disturbance spread to the Golgonda hills of Vizagapatam, and in July to the Rekapalle country in Bhadrachalam; but the causes of the disaffection there (which are mentioned in the accounts of Rekapalle and Dutcharti) were essentially different from those operating in Rampa itself.

The disturbed area now comprised over 5,000 square miles of wooded and hilly country. The operations of the troops were much hampered by the nature of the ground, and the malcontents took advantage of their superior knowledge of the country to maintain a harassing guerilla warfare, avoiding all direct encounters with the troops, but attacking isolated police-stations and burning or looting the villages of those who assisted the authorities. Troops were hastened up to the country, and by the end of 1879 the Government forces included, besides several hundred police drafted from neighbouring districts, as many as six regiments of Madras Infantry, two companies of Sappers and Miners, and a squadron of cavalry and a wing of infantry from the Hyderabad Contingent.

The chief leaders of the insurgents were four notorious characters named Chandrayya, Sirdar Jangam Pulicanta Sambayya, Tamman Dora, and Ambul Reddi of Boduluru. The second of these was arrested as early as April 29th, 1879. Chandrayya, however, scored many successes in the Yellavaram division at the beginning of May, and succeeded in burning Addatigela police station. He was nearly

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captured in the middle of that month, but in June he shut up a party of police under a European officer for some days in Addatigela. The spread of the disaffection to Rekapalle and Dutcharti, and the fear that the hill tribes of Polavaram division might join the insurgents, led to strenuous efforts on the part of the authorities, and troops were moved up from all sides. The northern and eastern frontiers of the Rampa country were occupied by strong detachments of sepoys, and military posts were established along the banks of the Godavari and Saveri. At the same time Mr. Sullivan, First Member of the Board of Revenue, was appointed (in July 1879) to visit the district and ascertain the real cause of the trouble and suggest remedies for it. The steps he took, which included the deposition of the mansabdar and a promise that the muttadars should thenceforth deal directly with Government did much to allay the excitement, and before the end of August 1879 as many as 70 of Chandrayya's men had been captured, and Rampa was comparatively quiet.

Rekapalle was also pacified about the same time, and the apprehended rising in Polavaram did not take place. The remaining rebels were now driven north to the hills of Golgonda and Jeypore. Ambul Reddi was captured in November 1879 and Chandrayya was killed in February 1880. Their removal broke the back of the trouble. Disturbances went on in a desultory fashion in the Vizagapatam district, and in October 1880 Tamman Dora made a brief incursion into that part of the country. But by November 1880 quiet was finally and everywhere restored.

The most deadly foe of the police and troops engaged in suppressing the outbreak had been the malaria which infests this part of the country. At the end of March 1880, out of 2,400 men employed, no less than 590 were on the sick list. Many deaths occurred, and in many other cases those attacked were months before they completely recovered."[1]

(2)

REKAPALLE

"This country joined in the Rampa rebellion of 1879, and at one time gave a great deal of trouble to the authorities. The causes of the rising were quite different from those

1. *Madras District Gazetteers—Godavari* by F. R. Hemingway, pp. 271-275.

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which operated in Rampa. Under the Central Provinces administration, *podu* cultivation had been almost unrestricted, and the assessment on it had been only four annas an axe. The Madras Government almost trebled the assessment, excluded the cultivators from certain tracts, and levied a tax on the felling of certain species of reserved trees. These new taxes and restrictions were considered a grievance, and it was for this reason that the Rampa leaders found adherents in the Rekapalle country. On the tenth of July some Rampa insurgents under Ambul Reddi, aided by a number of Rekapalle people, attacked the Vaddigudem police station. They were driven back, and a party of armed police was directed to proceed up the river from Rajahmundry in a steam-launch. The steamer which was without a guard or arms, incautiously went on ahead, was attacked a little above the gorge, and was taken by the insurgents. A force of 125 sepoys was then sent up the river, the Godavari and Saveri were patrolled by steamers, and posts were established along their banks. By September the people had resumed their ordinary occupations and quiet was restored. The Rekapalle country was again disturbed by an incursion of Tamman Dora in October 1880. He looted a few defenceless villages, but his stay in this quarter did not last long."[1]

* * *

The following correspondence connected with the insurrections in the Rampa and Rekapalli areas is available in the archives of the Central Records Office, Government of Hyderabad:—

On information furnished by the Resident, Salar Jung, the Minister, issued orders to the Collectors in the month of March 1879 to effect the arrest of the following persons : Rama Reddy, Boduluru Ambul Reddy, Kakuru Reddy, Bundeli Dora and Karu Taman Dora. A reward of Rs. 200 for the arrest of every one of the above persons was also proclaimed. Through another proclamation dated April 3, 1879 a reward of Rs. 500 was declared for the arrest of Karu Taman Dora. In his letter, dated 15th March 1879 Salar Jung wrote to the Collector of Khammam as follows:—

"Reports have reached Government that a group of Arabs have attacked police outposts in the Rampa area on

1. *Madras District Gazetteers—Godavari* by F. R. Hemingway, pp. 264-265.

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the borders of Hyderabad. It is feared that Rohillas may also join the Arabs. Full details are not available. The Governor of Madras had informed that disturbing elements from Rampa are entering the Hyderabad territory. A search should be made for them and their arrest effected. You are ordered to direct the Superintendent of Police to proceed to the borders and make all necessary arrangements to scour the roads and arrest these disturbers. No one should be allowed to escape."

On 29th March 1879 the Collector of Khammam reported that the necessary arrangements had been made on the borders but that till the time of writing no one had been arrested. It appears from the report of the police officers of Palvancha taluq that, a few days before, the insurrectionists had gathered at Rampa, attacked police outposts and had killed a few police constables. The police and revenue officers of Madras had subsequently proceeded to the area. In his letter the Collector informs that an attack was made on an excise shop in the village of Kotarwar in which the police suffered a few casualties. By that time none of the rebels had entered the Hyderabad territory. There was also no trace of any Arabs or Rohillas.

The Collector of Nalgonda in his letter, dated 6th April 1879, reported that insurrectionists had gathered in the hills of Devarkonda and Devalapally. Due to want of supervision by the police and the depredations of these people about 40 villages had become deserted. The Collector continued that if this state of affairs was allowed to stand for a few days it was likely to result in the depopulation of many more villages. A few days before, the Government treasury, which was being conveyed from the village Jatala Palluru to the taluq office was looted by the Lambadas.

It appears that Chandrayya, one of the leaders of the insurgents, who had been arrested had escaped. A reward of Rs. 1,000 was proclaimed on the 27th of June 1879 for his arrest.

The Collector of Khammam through his letter, dated September 10, 1879, reported that the police officials of Kandi Konda and Palvancha had been despatched to Waddigudem to report on the state of affairs there. From the report it appears that the insurgents had visited an excise

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shop. On this information being received the Assistant Commissioner and other authorities, accompanied by a troop of 40, attacked the insurgents. There was a sharp struggle between the insurgents and the police party. The same day the Assistant Commissioner died apparently of injuries and a heat-stroke. The village Venkanpet was burnt down. In a further report dated September 1879, the Collector informed Captain Fallen that his troops were requisitioned by Lt. Hamilton. The village of Saganapally was surrounded and about 17 persons were arrested. In another letter, dated 18th July, 1879, the Collector of Khammam informed that insurgents had gathered at Waddigudem and had looted the village. The insurgents appeared to be aiming at plundering Bhadrachallam and were in contact with the people in the Hyderabad territory. The police had been asked to proceed to the borders to prevent armed people from entering the Hyderabad territory or leaving it. The Collector had requested for additional troops being despatched to the forested areas.

As a result troops were sent from Hyderabad, both regular and irregular and also the Contigent Troops to the borders of Hyderabad. The Resident in his letter, dated 19th July 1879, informed Salar Jung that on the 16th of March there was an engagement with the rebels who escaped beyond the river Godavari. The Governor of Madras had desired the assistance of the Hyderabad troops for preventing rebels from escaping into the Hyderabad territory. Accordingly Salar Jung informed the Collector of Khammam that Hyderabad Troops had been sent under Capt. Fallen to the borders. He also ordered the Collector to assist in the arrest of the rebels.

In his letter, dated 21st July 1879, the Collector informed that the insurrectionists had attacked the forest guard at Waddigudem, who however, escaped with his family and arrived at Rudrankot in the Palvancha taluq. The insurrectionists now seemed to be planning an attack on the village of Rudrankot. The Collector also informed that a police party 200 strong was patrolling the border.

On 24th July, 1879, the Collector was informed that it appeared from a letter of the Resident that rebels had gathered in the village of Kakepally and that people of the Hyderabad Government were rendering them help. The

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Collector was ordered to keep a watch of them. Kakepally was also known by the name of Karkarlapally and was situated in the Madira taluq of the Khammam district. The Resident had informed that a big insurrection was expected to take place in Kakepally and had desired that necessary arrangements be made to meet it, as it was apprehended that the people of the Hyderabad Government were also rendering assistance to the insurgents.

From the letter of the Collector of Khammam, dated 15th August 1879, it appears that some of the insurgents had been arrested and were in custody in the Hyderabad territory. They were 12 in number. They had been handed over to the Government of Madras. Under the instructions of the Resident the statements of these insurgents seem to have been recorded in Telugu before they were handed over to the Madras authorities.

Although the repercussions of the Rampa rebellion were not serious in the Hyderabad territory still it could not be denied that the insurrectionists were in contact with like elements in the district of Khammam. Some of the insurgents seem to have also collected in the Karkarlapally village in the Madira Taluq. The excitement caused by the Rampa rebellion, which lasted for about a year, must have affected the population on the borders of the district quite deeply.

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Chapter XVI

JAMALUDDIN AFGHANI'S ACTIVITIES

In the year 1879 the great Pan-Asian Missionary Syed Jamaluddin Afghani visited Hyderabad. This remarkable person was born in the year 1839 in Afghanistan. During the course of his life he visited a number of countries both in the Middle-East and Europe. He was deeply grieved to find the decline of the Muslim powers and the growth of an aggressive imperialism among the European nations. It was his constant effort to rouse nations like Persia, Turkey and Egypt to the possibility of ruin overtaking them and to the need for building up unity in the matter of religion, society and politics. He was in Egypt in 1879 working in the El-Azhar University when the British had already started designs to enslave Egypt. Aligning himself with the reformed and nationalist elements in Egypt Jamaluddin Afghani brought about a great awakening in that country through press, platform and associations and institutions for social and political reforms. He very soon came into conflict with Tofiq Pasha, the Khediv of Egypt, who had been installed in his position by the British. Although in the beginning the hopes of the nationalists rose in seeing Tofiq Pasha installed in place of Ismail Pasha, they turned into bitter disappointment when Tofiq Pasha also started the regime of repression on the one hand and humble servility to European nations on the other. Almost the first victim of this policy was Jamaluddin Afghani. In September 1879 Jamaluddin was deported from Egypt summarily. He arrived in India the same year and proceeded to Hyderabad where he stayed for about two years. He was moved from Hyderabad to Calcutta, where he stayed for a brief time, being under the constant surveillance of the police. From Calcutta he was deported *via* Afghanistan to England. There he became very friendly with the great statesman W. S. Blunt, the champion of the Egyptians in England. In Paris Jamaluddin Afghani started a periodical in Arabic through which he carried on a ceaseless campaign against the exploitation of the Asiatic countries by European powers. The Sultan of Turkey, hoping that his regime would get support from the Pan-Islamic activities of Jamaluddin, invited him to Turkey. But Jamaluddin was a reformer and soon his activities in the cause of reforms in Turkey made him a suspect in the

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eyes of the Sultan. He was placed under detention. He died of cancer on the 9th of March 1897, but it was strongly suspected that he was poisoned.

During his stay in Hyderabad Jamaluddin was put up with Mohiud-Dowla Nawab Rasool Yar Jung. He wrote articles in the local Urdu journals *Molamin* and *Moalam-e-Shafiq*. These articles covered subjects of religion, philosophy and educational and social reforms. He also used to have discussions with learned persons in Hyderabad on various subjects.

In the field of educational reform Jamaluddin Afghani advocated the imparting of the modern type of education to the Muslims in all the branches of the natural sciences, the humanities and the professional sciences. He was against the orthodox Moulavis, who turned a deaf ear to the needs of the times and confined their education only to the study of religious scriptures. But he was also against the educational efforts of Sir Syed Ahmed, which he was then carrying on at Aligarh. Jamaluddin did not want that the education of the Western type should result in the de-nationalisation and Westernisation of the Muslims. Education at Aligarh had been placed under the charge of European Professors. Sir Syed Ahmed and his band of associates were then supposed to be strong reformers and to that extent away from religion and religious trends. Jamaluddin bitterly attacked Sir Syed Ahmed and his school of thought and felt that Muslim education in the hands of foreigners would remove from the students their faith in their religion. He, therefore, desired that while education among Muslims should be expanded both in nature and content from the traditional type, it should, however, be placed in the hands of the Muslim professors, who would see to it that the pupils would not develop a disbelief in their convictions.

While Jamaluddin was staying in Hyderabad, Salar Jung offered to employ him in the service of the State, but Jamaluddin refused to accept service in Hyderabad. By his writings in the press and his public speeches Jamaluddin made a deep impression on the public in Hyderabad. Mr. W. S. Blunt in his book *India Under Ripon* has quoted the impressions which prominent people in Hyderabad had formed about Jamaluddin. According to Syed Ali Bilgrami " Shaik Jamaluddin was too much of a socialist and fire-brand to carry through a reformation,"

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Nawab Rasool Yar Jung says "In all India you would not find a teacher like Jamaluddin.

While Blunt was on his way to India Jamaluddin met him in Paris. The following were Jamaluddin's impressions about India as described by Blunt:—

"13*th September*:—We arrived by the night train at Paris, and alighted at the Hotel S. Romain, a quiet place where we can see our friends. Presently Sabunji came in with Sheykh Jemal-ed-Din. When I saw the Sheykh in London in the spring, he wore his Sheykh's dress. Now he has clothes of the Stambouli cut, which, however, sit not badly on him. He has learned a few words of French, but is otherwise unchanged. Our talk was of India, and of the possibility of my being able to get the real confidence of the Moslems there. He said that my being an Englishman would make this very difficult, for all who had any position to lose were in terror of the Government, which had its spies everywhere. He himself had been kept almost a prisoner in his house and had left India through fear of worse. Any Sheykh who gained notoriety in India was tracked and bullied, and if he persisted in an independent course he was sent on some charge or other to the Andaman Islands. People, he said, would not understand that I wished them well, and would be too prudent to talk. Even the people might but not the Sheykhs or the Princes. He thought Hyderabad would be my best point, as there were refugees there from every province of India, and they were less afraid of the English Government. He said he would write me some private letters to explain my position, and to the editors of some Mohammedan newspapers. I told him what the political position was, and how necessary it seemed to me that the Moslems should show that they joined the Hindus in supporting the Ripon policy. All depended on the Indians showing a united front. He said they might have courage, if it could be proved to them that there were people in England who sympathized with them, but they only saw the officials, who never smiled when they spoke to them. I asked him about the language I should most prudently hold regarding the Sultan, and he advised me to say nothing against the Sultan in India, or about an Arabian Caliphate; it had been spread about that the English were going to set up a sham Caliphate in Arabia, under a child whom they would use to make themselves masters

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of the holy places; the Sultan's name was now venerated in India as it had not formerly been.

14th September:—Jemal-ed-Din and Sanua and Sabunji came to breakfast, and we stayed talking all day. The Sheykh brought with him letters which he had written to the Nawab Abd-e-Latif of Calcutta, and the Nawab Rasul Yar Khan of Hyderabad both of which I hope may be of great value. He told us some interesting particulars as to his own people and family, repudiated the idea of the Afghans being a Semitic people, says on the contrary that they are Aryans, like the inhabitants of Northern India, but his own family is Arabian, and they have always preserved in it the tradition of the Arabic languages. He also discoursed on history. I read them my poem 'The Wind and the Whirlwind,' which Sabunji in part translated to the Sheykh. He said that, if he had been told there was in the world an Englishman who really sympathized with the misfortunes of India, he would not have believed it."[1].

The articles which Jamaluddin wrote during his stay in Hyderabad have already been referred to above. The gist given below of some of these articles will throw light on Jamaluddin's approach to the problems of this country:—

Emphasising the need for imparting instruction in the mother-tongue Jamaluddin wrote as follows:—"I am surprised that those of the Indians who have become enlightened have not paid attention to this important subject. Do they not know that progress depends on instruction being imparted in the language of the country? It is surprising that hardly any good book dealing with the sciences or humanities has so far been translated in (any) Indian language. Have Indians become so oblivious of the fact that if modern knowledge does not find a place in their language their nationhood cannot rest on a sure foundation? Do they not know that the first duty of the intellectuals is to enrich their own language? Why do they not translate the books in modern languages into Urdu, and for this purpose take the help of languages like Sanskrit, Marathi and Bengali? It is a long time since the British have been ruling in India. Why is it that the intellectuals of India are not taking steps to build up a treasure of modern language in their country? This could not be possible unless they

1. *India Under Ripon* by W. S. Blunt, pp. 12-14.

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translated good books in their own languages. It is also not possible for education to be universal unless it is imparted through the language of the country. How could a language learnt through other languages be assured of firm foundations in India? How can a man point out proudly to his library if it contains thousands of books written in foreign languages and not a single book written in the language of the country. It is said that all knowledge is after all knowledge, whether imparted in a foreign language or in the language of the country and that after all the British have been ruling in India for a long time. So it is argued that there is no harm in adopting the English language and getting knowledge through English. The reply to it is that such an attitude can only be described as flattery and sycophancy. This should not be taken to mean that English should be totally stopped. The knowledge of English is necessary for every Indian."

Addressing the British, Jamaluddin appealed to them that for the security of their administration they should make the Hindusthani language the language of their administration.

In criticising the orthodox Muslims Jamaluddin was exceedingly bitter to their attitude in general. He says "the present system of education among Muslims is rotten to the core. The method of learning Arabic is so defective that boys are neither able to talk nor write two correct sentences in Arabic. Their study of logic has landed the Muslims into a field of superstitions only. They have never acquired the knowledge of any modern language. They have not developed even a sense of curiosity about modern inventions. The language which our Moulavis acquire is like a dimly lit lamp which fails to throw light even to a short distance. It is a pity the Moulavis do not encourage modern knowledge which they call *Ilm-e-Firang* or foreign knowledge. They think that by this they are protecting Islam, although in reality they are enemies of Islam. These Moulavis should first equip themselves with knowledge. A little consideration will show the Muslims that deterioration in their society has started with these Moulavis. A truly learned man is one who should pour life into a society, which has been prostrated and not one who is deaf to all calls of progress."

Jamaluddin also lashed out against the religious prejudices preventing the Muslims from acquiring modern

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knowledge. These prejudices, he believed, had separated them from each other and had kept them ignorant of world politics. He also criticised the movement started by Sir Syed Ahmed. Jamaluddin considered that Western knowldege was necessary for Muslims, but not in the way that Sir Syed Ahmed had designed. He criticised Syed Ahmed's educational, political and religious convictions bitterly. In one of the articles he asked, "Supposing that a French boy is taken to Germany and is educated by German Professors in German surroundings, he will naturally develop respect for Germans and Germany and look down upon his own country. How would it be possible for him to love his country?" Jamaluddin's criticism of Syed Ahmed's educational activities was on the ground that this education was being imparted through English institutions and in surroundings removed from an aesthetic atmosphere. He was also surprised that Syed Ahmed should undermine his own community and aim at consolidating British interests in India.

The above opinions of Jamaluddin Afghani, which he propagated in Hyderabad, did not fail to make an impression on the educated classes in the City of Hyderabad. His articles secured wide publicity and the idea of a Muslim University which he had sponsored found favour even with the ruling circles when W. S. Blunt took it up during his visit to Hyderabad in 1884. Jamaluddin was removed from Hyderabad to Calcutta in about 1881. The British seem to have become suspicious of his activities when the revolt of Arabi Pasha took place in Egypt in 1882. It appears that in the demonstrations which Arabi Pasha led before the palace in Cairo on 11th September 1882 he had boasted that, if he wished, he could bring about a rebellion in India against the British. This must have resulted in the hurried departure of Jamaluddin from Hyderabad. Jamaluddin left Calcutta at the end of 1882 and after journeying across Afghanistan and other countries of the Middle-East, he reached London in the spring of 1883.

Brief as the sojourn of Jamaluddin was in Hyderabad, his activities gave a great fillip to the growth of public opinion in Hyderabad especially in the development of journalism and in the awakening of interest in educational and social reforms. One of his colleagues Mohib Hussain (in whose journal Jamaluddin used to write his articles)

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later on became an ardent social reformer and an eminent journalist. The need for imparting instruction through the medium of the Indian languages to which Jamaluddin drew public attention found a fertile field later on in the educational development of the State.

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Chapter XVII

PUBLIC AWAKENING IN HYDERABAD (1883)

Salar Jung I died on 8th February 1883 when the administration of Hyderabad was entrusted to a Council of Regency consisting of the prominent noblemen of Hyderabad and presided over by the Nizam. Raja Narender Bahadur and Mir Laik Ali Khan, the son of Salar Jung, were made the joint administrators of the State. Mir Laik Ali Khan was also the Secretary of the Regency Council. During its brief term of one year the Council of Regency had to face public agitation in connection with what came to be known as "The Chanda Railway Scheme". In brief the scheme was that the existing State Railway running from Hyderabad to Wadi should be taken over by a (British) Company which would extend the railway to Warangal and thence on one side to Bhadrachallam or to Bezwada and on the other to a point at Chanda. On the capital raised the Hyderabad Government was to guarantee certain interest and the railway was to be known as the *Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway*. Although the scheme was approved by Salar Jung during his life-time, it came up for implementation only during the term of the Council of Regency. In the absence of the details of the scheme it was widely believed that the Hyderabad Government was embarking on a scheme which was likely to result in financial loss to the State. By this time the educated class had grown up in Hyderabad which had begun to take a lively interest in public affairs. They set up a Committee known as "The Committee to consider the Chanda Railway Scheme" under the leadership of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and Mulla Abdul Qayum. Dr. Agornath at this time was working as the Principal of the Hyderabad College. This Committee felt that the full facts of the Chanda Railway Scheme should be placed before the public. A representation to this effect was made by the Committee to the Council of Regency. That for the first time in Hyderabad the public asked the Government to take it into its confidence was too much for either the Council of Regency or the officials of the Residency. The result was that Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya was suspended from service and deported from Hyderabad on the 20th of May 1883.

On the 22nd of May a Revenue Officer named Dastur Ausaji Hoshang was also deported for alleged conspiracy

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in the agitation. The manner and method of the deportation of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya was to say the least heartless. The following running accounts of the agitation and deportation of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya culled from the contemporary journals bring out in bold relief the injustice meted out to this noble son of India:—

(1)

"Dr. Aghornath, the Principal of the Hyderabad College, has, a local paper states, been suspended by the Government, for connecting himself with the movement set on foot to petition the Viceroy against the Chanda railway scheme. Our Hyderabad correspondent also makes mention of the fact, although he does not give the official's name.—*Times of India,* May 16, 1883."[1]

(2)

"An occasional correspondent of the *Times of India,* telegraphing on May 21, says:—

'Dr. Argonath, Principal, of the Hyderabad College, was last night under escort taken to the railway and deported across the Nizam's frontier to Sholapore.'"[2]

(3)

"Another correspondent of the same paper says:—

'Dr. Argonath Chatopadya, one of the leaders of the party opposed to the resolution of His Highness's Government anent the railway scheme, was deported last night in charge of the police beyond the limits of His Highness's territory, with an injunction that his return would be followed by apprehension and trial. By means of certain representations an attempt has been made to arouse public feeling and even Pathans and other bodies have, it is said, been tampered with. Sultan Nawaz, a well-known Arab Jemadar, who had been induced to sign a memorial to the Viceroy by its having been represented that the British Government pressed the scheme on the acceptance of his Highness's Government in order to secure the assignment of the Aurangabad and Naldrug districts, withdrew from the movement on hearing the true particulars, and was urgent in his demands that certain persons should be deported, offering his aid in doing so.'"[3]

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Supplementary Volume for 1886, p. 471.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 472.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 472.

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(4)

"A correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette*, telegraphing from Hyderabad on May 19, 1883, says:—

'The Council of Regency are still divided in their opinion about the Chanda Railway Scheme, though Major Trevor writes to local paper to say that it has been sanctioned. Protests against the scheme continue to be sent to the Viceroy. *The Hazar Dastan* charges Mr. Abdul Huq with interested motives. Mr. Mahdi Ali is very unpopular, but he is blamed for nothing. Goolam Dustigeer and others say he has already changed his opinion and sympathises with the agitators. Nawab Sultan Nawaz Jung Bahadur, one of the wealthiest Ameers, on being questioned by the Peshkar whether he signed the petition got up by the agitators, replied in the affirmative, and offered, it seems, to lend the Government seven crores.'"[1]

(5)

"A correspondent of the same paper, telegraphing from Secunderabad on May 21, 1883 says:—

'Dr. Argonath Chattopadya, the Principal of the College here, has been dismissed, and was last night deported beyond the limits of His Highness's Dominions for connecting himself as a leader with the agitators against, and impugning, a settled resolution of the Council of Regency on the Chanda Railway Scheme. Some of the agitators have gone so far as to attempt stir up the Pathans and Arabs in this matter, by appealing to their patriotic feelings, and asserting that the British Government were forcing the railway on this Government, with a view to securing the districts of Aurangabad and Naldurg, as they had done the Berars. The much talked-of memorial was signed by about 105, and not 50,000 persons, and most of the names appearing are of no consequence whatever. Only one of the self-styled secretaries to the agitation and a few of Dr. Argonath's scholars were at the station to see him sent off in the charge of the police. Other agitators were conspicuous by their absence. The fact that there was not the slightest demonstration is significant, and the extent of the agitation may fairly be estimated by the paucity of those attending at the station last night.'"

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1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Supplementary Volume for 1886, p. 472.

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"The same correspondent, telegraphing on May 23, 1883, says:—

'Dastur Assaji Hoshang, one of the secretaries to the committee agitating against the Chanda Railway Scheme, was yesterday evening deported from the territories of His Highness the Nizam for his complicity in the agitation. From all accounts it would appear that he was the prime mover in the attempts to influence the Pathans, Arabs and others to oppose the action of the Government, and that he was in fact, the moving spirit in the agitation. Great commiseration is felt for Dr. Argonath, who is supposed to have been a tool in the hands of the Dastur.' "[1]

(6)

"Dr. Argonath Chattopadya, telegraphing from Sholapore on May 23, 1883, says:—

'The telegram from Secunderabad published in the *Times of India* of the 22nd instant, regarding the Chanda Railway, is utterly false. No memorial was ever sent to the Viceroy. It is true the feeling in Hyderabad against the raising of a foreign loan is very strong. Designing persons, expecting large commissions, have, it seems, misrepresented matters to the Nizam's and the British Governments. They have given the movement, which is a peaceful one, the colouring of a disturbance. Certain officials have lost their influence since the death of Sir Salar Jung, and they want to regain it by such false representations. They are afraid lest certain unpleasant things should be brought to light, and are therefore trying to check the movement by threats of suspension, dismissal, and deportation. The police have been very active for some days past. With all this, the committee are firm. They are determined to represent their grievances to the Viceroy. Interested parties have even gone the length of sending impudent telegrams to great personages in the name of the committee.' "[2]

(7)

"An occasional correspondent of the *Times of India*, telegraphing on May 23, says:—

'The deportation of obstructionists to the Chanda Railway Scheme continues. Last night Mr. Assajee Ho-

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Supplementary Volume for 1886, pp. 472-473.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 473.

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shang, a Parsee, and a third class talookdar, was deported from Secunderabad with the aid of the Cantonment Magistrate Major Ludlow, and his police. Several other servants of Government, residents of Chudderghaut and supporters of Dr. Argonath, are likely to be deported.' "[1]

(8)

" Assa Hoshang Dastur, telegraphing from Poona on May 25, 1883 says:—

'The telegram published in the *Bombay Gazette* of the 24th is much exaggerated. Far from being a prime mover of the Chanda Railway agitation, I know very little of its doings. That I have influenced the Pathans and Arabs is untrue, and that Dr. Argonath was a tool in my hands is simply ridiculous. Future events will prove that I am a victim of the intrigues of certain officers.' "[2]

(9)

" Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhaya telegraphing from Sholapore to the *Bombay Gazette* on May 26, 1883, says:—

'The letter of the Hyderabad correspondent published in the *Times of India* of the 25th instant contains statements which are incorrect. Firstly, the meeting was not called 'The Committee for considering the Chanda Railway Scheme'; secondly in conformity with a resolution passed by the Committee, the following telegram was sent to the Secretary to the Council of Regency, with copies to members, and not the message maliciously fabricated by the correspondent. 'The president of the Committee for considering the Chanda Railway Scheme requests that the papers applied for on the 6th instant be kindly granted early, as a public meeting is to be convened shortly.' What motives these correspondents may have in giving malicious versions of what is thoroughly constitutional and loyal is not far to seek. Perhaps their wheels are well greased.' "[3]

(10)

" The Hyderabad correspondent of the *Times of India*, writing on May 29, 1883, says:—

'I find I was wrong in saying that Dustoor Asa Hoosung was the Secretary of the Agitation Committee.

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Supplementary Volume for 1886, p. 474.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 474.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 475.

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However, whether he was the Secretary or not, matters very little, as the Government were satisfied that his connection with the movement was of so close a nature as to justify his deportation. It is needless to say that a perfect panic existed for some days after the deportation of Asa Hoosung and Dr. Aghornath. No fresh deportations have taken place since those who were connected with the movement are beginning to breathe more freely. The provisional Government, or rather the Joint Administrators, have very much strengthened their hands by the prompt and decisive measures they took in regard to the two individuals already deported, and it will be some time, I think, before Government servants are again found getting up a political agitation against the Government or Government measures. The Hyderabadee is *per se*, after all, a very mild individual, and if left to himself is a very inoffensive and resigned being, bowing to kismet; but the rising generation of that ilk is unfortunately too liable to be led astray, and some of them too desirous of showing what enlightened beings they are, by following in the footsteps of importations from Hindustan.' "[1]

(11)

" The Hyderabad correspondent of the *Times of India*, writing on May 23, 1883, says:—

'In my last letter I informed you that the Principal of one of the local educational institutions had been suspended for sending a telegram to the Viceroy direct regarding the Chanda Railway Scheme. I mentioned no name, not wishing to give undue prominence to the matter while the case was still pending. My reticence, however, was of no avail, as the Principal's name was mentioned on the authority of the local paper in the same issue of your paper as that in which my letter appeared. In my letter I said that the Principal's (Dr. Argonath's) conduct in the matter was unusual if not extraordinary. I was consequently prepared to hear that he had been dismissed and ordered to leave His Highness's dominions, but I think few people were prepared for the unusual manner in which Dr. Argonath's deportation was carried out. On Sunday evening last the doctor was at his house in conversation with some twenty or thirty persons, members of the committee appointed to petition the Viceroy against the Chanda Railway

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Supplementary Volume for 1886, p. 475.

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scheme, when suddenly a body of police, under the Inspector-General, Roostum Ali Khan, and a party of Arabs appeared on the scene and asked which of those assembled was Dr. Aghornath. The doctor rose and went forward, saying "I am Dr. Aghornath." He was then shown a paper, and told that on its authority he was to accompany them to the railway station. The doctor, who was bareheaded, asked to be allowed to get his turban, when he was told that there was no time for this. His request to see his wife (who is in a very delicate state of health) was denied him; his children, who were sent out by the mother to wish their father good-bye, were not allowed to go near him, and he was taken off to the station and there made to wait till half-past 10 p.m. when the Madras train started. Here he was unceremoniously put into a second-class compartment with eleven valiant members of the Nizam's police as an escort! His friends at the station were not allowed to go near him to say good-bye, and one of them, who asked that the doctor might be put into a first-class carriage, was told there was no money for the purpose, as eleven policemen had to escort him. This gentleman on offering to pay the difference between second and first-class fares for the whole party was told "*hookum naheen hai.*" On the carriages drawing up at the station platform, the police in a very rough manner ordered the doctor to enter the compartment in which he was to travel. The doctor, who retained his presence of mind throughout and behaved with great self-possession, turned to those assembled on the platform and said: "Gentlemen, you will please bear witness that I do not enter this carriage willingly, but that I am compelled to do so". Major Dobbs, the Judicial Superintendent of the Railway, who happened to be present on the platform was appealed to by the doctor for protection as a native British subject and landed proprietor in Bengal. Major Dobbs regretted his inability to interfere, the doctor being in charge of the Nizam's police, but promised that a faithful report of the circumstance would be made to the British Resident next morning. The affair when mentioned to me seemed so utterly incredible, that I thought the whole thing was a gross exaggeration, but careful inquiries made from eye-witnesses to the whole transaction only tend to fully corroborate this sad ending of the career of a useful and efficient Government servant. That a person of Dr. Aghornath's high educational and scientific attainments should have been treated with so much ignominy and so little consideration seems inexplicable. His fault

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after all was only a very grave misconception of his position and duty as a Government servant, for which dismissal and an order to quit Hyderabad would have been a sufficiently severe punishment without the indignity having been added of being sent away as a criminal, and that, too, of so desperate a character as to require an escort of eleven policemen. His sudden removal at this time enlists the more sympathy, owing to the fact of his wife being in a very delicate state of health and requiring the support of his presence and company; and it must be particularly painful to her to have had her husband torn away from her at such a time without one moment's warning or preparation, hurried away only in the clothes he stood in, when there was no necessity for any such hurry, as he was detained at Wadi, the terminal station of the Nizam's State Railway, virtually a prisoner from 6 a.m. till 3 p.m. when the Madras mail to Bombay is due, and by which he was sent on to Sholapore. I had nearly omitted to mention that the twenty or thirty agitators against the Chanda Railway Scheme who were at Dr. Aghornath's when the police and Arabs put in their appearance beat a very hasty and ignominious retreat. It is said that Dr. Aghornath, either before or after his suspension (I am not sure which) sent some telegrams to His Highness the Nizam asking to be furnished with the papers connected with the proposed scheme. This, I dare say, had more to do with his summary removal than the fact of his having telegraphed to the Viceroy, as some of the telegrams to the Nizam were, it is said, highly disrespectful. The Doctor himself, however, says that he only addressed one telegram to His Highness, that it was couched in most suppliant terms, and was forwarded at the request of the Committee appointed to petition the Viceroy. If, therefore, more than one telegram was received by His Highness, it will be the duty of the Government to make an enquiry into the matter in justice to the doctor.' "[1]

(12)

"The same correspondent, writing on May 24, 1883 says:—

'My letter announcing the deportation of Dr. Aghornath was hardly posted, when news reached me that another of the agitators, Dastoor Assa Hoosung, the secretary of the opposition committee, had been deported. He was taken off

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Supplementary Volume for 1886, pp. 550-551.

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very quietly by the Secunderabad police, who took him in charge just as he had left a Parsee shop, allowed him to go home and pack up his traps, and started with him by the 10 p.m. train. The manner in which Dr. Aghornath was hurried off by the Moglai police must I think, be due to the fact that these men exceeded their instructions. Now, that the president and secretary of the agitation committee have been disposed of, the Government possibly will make severe examples of Government servants who may have connected themselves with the movement.' "[1]

The Chanda Railway agitation has been referred to in the following words by Sri Ghulam Dastagir Khan in his autobiography at page 63:—

"Dr. Aghornath, Moulavi Yusufuddin, Mr. Sabhapati, Bar-at-Law and founder of the Gulbarga Mills, Mulla Abdul Qayum and Abdul Khader, brother-in-law of Masihuzaman Khan, the tutor of the Nizam, came to me and stated that a number of leading persons had signed the *Memorandum* about the Chanda Railway. Some more were to sign and I was also requested to affix my signature. I told them that as against the Government our representatives would not succeed, but would on the other hand invite trouble. They refuted my argument and one of them told me that the Nizam was against the Chanda Railway Scheme and that Nawab Bashiruddowla differed from Dilair Jung in his opinion about this scheme. As I saw the signature of Shamshir-ul-Mulk on the representation I too signed it. The result of all this was that Dr. Aghornath and Dastur Hoosung were expelled from the State. Shamshir-ul-Mulk denied having signed the representation. Eighteen persons who were involved in this affair came in for adverse notice. As soon as I heard this news I told Maharaja Narender Bahadur and Mr. Cordery, the Resident, that every man from the lowest to the highest was free to express the opinion he held irrespective of the Government's likes and dislikes. The Government has no right to stifle the opinion of the public."

With the deportation of Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and Dastoor Ausaji Hoshung and warnings administered to the others the agitation died down and the railway scheme was implemented. By the year 1886 the extension of the

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Supplementary Volume for 1886, p. 552.

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railway line from Wadi to Secunderabad up to Bezwada had been completed. The agitation which the proposed extension brought about among the educated classes of Hyderabad for the first time was a pointer to the beginnings of public awakening in Hyderabad. Dr. Aghornath was permitted to return to Hyderabad after two years and was placed in charge of the College which later developed into 'The Nizam College.' He was the centre of a strong intellectual group in Hyderabad and became the source of inspiration to many persons, who later took a leading part in the public life of Hyderabad. Dastoor Hoshung was also called back and was reinstated in service. Mulla Abdul Qayum had left for Madras for a short period after the agitation was put down. He later returned to Hyderabad and played a notable part in the public life of the State till his death in 1906. In the development of public awakening in Hyderabad the agitation against the Chanda Railway Scheme in 1883 can be taken to be the starting point. From this date onwards we notice a steady growth of public consciousness among all the communities of the State.

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Chapter XVIII

MR. W. S. BLUNT AND THE MUSLIM UNIVERSITY SCHEME

A reference has already been made to Wilfrid Scawen Blunt who wrote on the activities of Jamaluddin Afghani. Mr. W. S. Blunt was one of the high-minded Englishmen, who persistently opposed the aggressive and the imperialistic designs of England in the Eastern countries. Blunt was a great scholar of Arabic. He was a life-long champion of the cause of Egypt and bitterly criticised the designs of England, which ultimately led to the occupation and enslavement of Egypt. In his work *Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt* he has described the diplomatic intrigues of England through which this occupation was achieved. Blunt was also a great admirer of Muslims. He deeply lamented the decline that had set in among the Middle-East countries. He desired a revival of Muslim culture and the rehabilitation of Muslim nations. Along with Jamaluddin Afghani, Blunt criticised the old and traditional type of Mullas and Moulavis, who in their narrow-mindedness would not absorb what modern languages had to give, but he was also against the type of education which would deprive the Muslims of their faith and their glorious cultural heritage. He wanted Muslim education on modern lines but in a Muslim atmosphere. In 1883 he arrived in India and paid a visit to Hyderabad for the first time in the November of that year. This was repeated by him again in February 1884 when he accompanied Lord Ripon, the then Viceroy of India to Hyderabad for the installation of the Nizam Mir Mahboob Ali Khan. He met a number of people in Hyderabad and submitted his proposals for a Muslim University to the Nizam. The Hyderabad Government enthusiastically supported the scheme, but after the departure of Blunt, owing to the differences, which arose between the Nizam and his Minister, the scheme fell through. The impressions of Blunt about men and matters in Hyderabad have been recorded in his diary published by him under the the title *India Under Ripon, A Private Diary*. Relevant extracts from this book are given below, which will reveal the reactions of the Hyderabad Muslims to British influences[1]:—

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 59 *et seqq.*

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"*29th November*

A more interesting visitor was Laik Ali, the young Salar Jung, who has succeeded to his father's title. He is only twenty-two, but has already an extremely dignified and at the same time quite natural manner, just the manner, in fact, of our best bred Englishmen. This, and his height, which is considerably over six feet, remind me vaguely of Pembroke, though Salar Jung has no remarkable good looks to recommend him and seems likely to grow fat, which Pembroke never will. He talked well, and with very little reserve, said he thought the English Government had made a great mistake in Egypt, and seemed delighted at the prospect of Arabi's return. I told him about the letter I had from Sheykh Jemal-ed-Din for the Nawab Rasul Yar Khan, and he said that the Sheykh had been a friend of his father's, and invited us to breakfast with him for Saturday, promising also to invite the Nawab, so that we might talk without official listeners."

"*30th November*

After breakfast another Arab visitor called, brother of the El Kaeti who made himself Sultan of Makala in Hadramaut with English help, also Syed Ali Bilgrami, a Mohammedan from Delhi, one of those brought here by Salar Jung—'a great pity' in Cordery's opinion—to wake up public opinion. He has had a partly English education, and has an appointment as civil engineer. His brother, Syed Huseyn, was old Salar Jung's private secretary. He explained to us the state of parties here."

"*1st December*

I sat next to Salar Jung at breakfast, on the other side of me being Syed Ali Bilgrami already mentioned. With him I discussed the whole question of the future of Islam. He had read my book, but took what he called a more pessimistic view than I do. He agreed, however, with me that if we could get Arabi and the Azhar Liberals restored to Egypt, and so a religious basis for reform, the effect in India would be great. 'We look,' he said, 'to Egypt and Mecca, far more than to Constantinople (Syed Ali is a Shiah), but we are all very backward in India. A religious basis is indispensable.' He then talked of the pilgrimage, and said he had been consulted by the English Government as to what should be done to improve the arrangements for it. He had referred them to my book. As

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a Shiah, he does not love the Sultan. The English Government would do far better to break that connection and protect the Arabs instead, but he was far from hopeful. Here at Hyderabad Salar Jung's death had been an immense misfortune. Of Sheykh Jemal-ed-Din, whom he had known here, he said he was too much of a socialist and firebrand to carry through a reformation. He talked, too, of the Mahdi, wishing him success. He said that if he succeeded it would be repeating the history of Abdillah in the sixth century of the Hejra. On the whole, a very pleasant breakfast.

In the evening Nawab Rasul Yar Khan, who after all had not been at the breakfast, came to see me, a good little alem of the Azhar type one knows so well in Egypt, liberal, socialistic, and an enthusiastic disciple of Jemal-ed-Din's. He knows no English, but is learned in Persian, and to some extent in Arabic. In this last we conversed. He tells me the majority of the Mohammedans here are Sunnis, but there is little difference between them and the Shiahs, and no ill-feeling. The mass of the people are quite ignorant of all that goes on outside the Deccan, but they had heard of the Egyptian War, and had sympathized with Arabi. Of Lord Ripon and the disputes in India only those who know English and could read the English papers had heard anything. He himself knew very little. There was no religious learning here, nor any body of learned men. In all India you would not find a teacher like Jemal-ed-Din. He produced with reverence out of his pocket a photograph of the Afghan Sheykh, and also a copy of the 'Abu Nadara,' in which my portrait had appeared, and he read out to us the poetry written under it. I asked him if there was no Mohammedan newspaper published here, and he said there was one. But when I gave him a copy of my Colombo speech for it he was frightened, and asked whether the English Government would not be very angry. I like this little man extremely. He promised to call again on Monday."

"*2nd December*

Cordery is doing what he can to get rid of the clever young Mohammedans introduced from the north by the late Salar Jung. The ablest of these is Seyd Huseyn Bilgrami. Cordery sent for him this morning to tell him that he should leave Hyderabad as soon as possible, such was the Resident's will. The arbitrary power of the Resident here is beyond belief. I notice that Balet

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Dowlah trembled before the little red-faced Cordery like a boy. Syed Huseyn does not tremble, but he will be obliged to go all the same. We had luncheon with him and his brothers today, all very clever men, as also with Mulvi Cheragh Ali, who is looked upon here as a member of the sect nicknamed 'of nature' by the old-fashioned Mohammedans, because they advocate a reformation political, social, and religious, on the lines described in my 'Future of Islam three years ago.' Only he thinks the present Sultan and Caliph might carry it into operation. This is because he has never visited Constantinople, and so does not know how hopeless that hope is. With these young men——— and we discussed all these questions——one can talk as freely as with Englishmen. And I am not surprised at Cordery's being afraid of them. The excuse for getting rid of them is that they are strangers here, which is true, for they are Delhi men. I doubt if Cordery is pleased at our going to their house."

"*7th December*

Received a visit from a native teacher at the Moslem school, and we had some interesting talk. He told me the Mohammedans here were far from happy. They were isolated and without knowledge of what happened in the outer world. They wanted knowledge and education; schools there were, but no superior instruction. They had had a great Minister in Salar Jung, but he was dead. The men now in power had never left the walls of Hyderabad. They were in the hands of the English, who were destroying all the good work that Salar Jung had done. His son was a good and able young man, who had large ideas because he had travelled. But the Peishkar knew nothing, and he made a circle on the table with his finger, signifying the walls of the city. I asked him about Kurshid Jah, and he made the same sign. The Government, he said, is in the hands of two or three ignorant men. Men of learning are being driven from the country. The teacher had with him a friend who knew Persian. They were both much pleased to hear that Anne had read the Koran through three times. This is an old-fashioned man, who evidently hates the English heartily, but I am struck with his liberality as between Mohammedans; and Mohammedan Hyderabad, whether Sunni or Shiah, seems ripe for reform. I had a talk later with Cheragh Ali, mostly about his book. His book contains nothing more than Mohammed Abdu, or any of the Liberal Ulema of Cairo,

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would subscribe to. Indeed, the reforms it suggests have all been advocated by them, and are defended with much the same reasoning. I showed him, however, that he was leaning on a broken reed if he trusted to Constantinople for a reformation."

"9th December

The schoolmaster called again. He asked me what the Mohammedans ought to do to better their condition. Every year they were becoming poorer in India. The Government ruined them where they had land with taxes, and they had no employment in the towns. I suggested they should take to trade, learn English, and compete with the Hindus, and he agreed with me that that might be best. He said, however, that in many parts a Mohammedan who learned English was still called a *kafr* by his fellows. Here at Hyderabad the taxes were not excessive, but the English system surrounded them, and English goods were killing the native industries. He said if nothing were done to help them, the English Government would have every Mohammedan in the country against them.

He also complained terribly of the tyranny of the English officials and their brutal manners. He asked how it was that I was different from them, that I made him sit down on the same sofa with myself, that I addressed him politely, and did not treat him as a slave. The officials, he said, sit without moving in their chairs and talk to us, while they leave us standing, arbruptly in words of command, without any salutation or words of friendship. You treat me, a poor man, as your equal. Why is this? I explained to him there were degrees of good breeding amongst us, and that the better the breeding the greater the politeness. That the men who came out to India as Government servants were, many of them, taken from a comparatively low rank in life, and that being unused to refined society, or to being treated with much consideration at home, they lost their heads when they found themselves in India in a position of power. I hoped, however, that this might soon be changed. He said the officials made their nation hated by the people; many who were willing to think the English Government was good were estranged by the manners of its officials. He asked me again why I travelled so far to see them, and why I cared to help them and I explained that in youth I had led a life of folly, and that I wished to do some good before I died, and that I

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had received much kindness from the Moslems, and learned from them to believe in God, and so I spent a portion of every year among them. I like the man much.

At four, Rasul Yar Khan came to fetch us to dine with him in the city, a final breach of discipline, as English people going to the city are expected to be bear-led by someone from the Residency. Rasul Yar Khan lives in a little old-fashioned house, with a pretty court surrounded by arches, and we were glad of the opportunity of seeing a *bourgeois* Hyderabad establishment. He had invited several friends to meet us, Nawaiz Jung, Cheragh Ali, Seyd Huseyn Bilgrami, and Moulvi Mehdy Hassan; and we had some good talk. They told us when Lord Beaconsfield came into office ten years ago, every Mohammedan in India looked to the Conservative party as friendly to them. But Lord Lytton's policy had undeceived them. The Afghan War had been most displeasing and had estranged every mind, and they had entirely lost confidence in any English party. They talked, too, of a letter Lytton had written to Lord Salisbury, which had been published, explaining how Mohammedans would be excluded from the public service.

Mehdy Hassan sat next me. He is native of Lucknow, and told me I should be well received by the Mohammedans there, for they knew my name well, and he has promised to give me letters for some of them. They would be glad to learn the truth about the Egyptian War, for until a few months ago they had all been deceived about it, thinking that the English had really gone to Egypt as the Sultan's allies. They said I should do well to give a lecture at Calcutta on the subject, but that it would be difficult to get up a public protest against future wars waged with Mohammedans, because, although the thing would be popular, it would be too dangerous for the leaders in it, who would from that moment become marked men. They told me I had no conception of the despotism under which India was held, nor of the danger there was for them in meddling with politics; Jemal-ed-Din's stories about the deportation of religious Sheykhs to the Andaman Islands were perfectly true."

"*4th January*

Later we went to a party at Belvedere, and again met the Hyderabad party. I had five minutes' talk at last, alone, with the Nizam, and asked him to put himself at the head

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of a movement for a university. He was the leader of the Mohammedans in India, and the people looked to him for their redemption. He promised most readily and emphatically that he would do so, and I suggested to him that he should speak to the Viceroy about it the day he was installed, and say that he wished to commemorate his accession by a great act in favour of education, and I cautioned him to say nothing about it to any one but Lord Ripon. This too he promised; and I am to send him, through Salar Jung, a draft scheme for approval, between this and our meeting him again at Hyderabad. Thus my plan in visiting India is working itself out in a surprising manner."

"*8th February*

We lunched with Seyd Huseyn Bilgrami, who is now practically Minister, and had a long talk about the situation. He said he would certainly draw up a financial statement showing all the deficit, and that he intended to make it his rule to be quite straightforward in all his dealings, on the principle that honesty was the best policy. I told him, of course, that I approved, and that he must remember that the Hyderabad State existed on sufferance, supported only by public opinion at home, the policy of the Indian Foreign Office was one of encroachment, and, but for English opinion, they would annex every independent State; nor would public opinion protect them, except they showed themselves worthy of protection, I said:--'In all your dealings show yourselves honester than the Indian Government. It is not saying much or asking you to do much, but this will be your best protection.' About the railway he seemed to think there was no help for it, but he did not fancy the idea of having dealings with Abd-el-Hak. Abd-el-Hak was a desperate intriguer, and should be suppressed; he was not so clever as people thought; the letters he wrote were not his own; he was incapable of writing anything worth reading. They must make the best they could of a bad job with the railway; it had been imposed upon them with a view to running the state; it could not possibly pay more than its working expenses, and there would be a charge for twenty years on the State of £ 2,00,000 a tenth of the revenue. It certainly is an outrageous business. About the university he seemed to think there would be much practical difficulty, though he decidedly wished to have it here when I said that we did absolutely depend upon the Nizam's help. He promised, however, to read over the

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draft, and talk about it again on Sunday, when I am to have a conference with Salar Jung. Unless they take the thing up more warmly than this, I am inclined to think we had better look elsewhere.

We had a discussion at luncheon with his brother and Cheragh Ali about the Mahdi, one or two being opposed to him on the ground that he was adverse to the Ottoman Empire, and on the more general one that 'If he is not the Mahdi, he is an imposter; if he is, we ought all to join him' ——a thing nobody seemed willing to do. The majority, with Seyd Huseyn, however, agreed that he was a Mohammedan representing Mohammedan interests, and so ought to be supported, and this is very strongly my own view."

"*9th February*

Rasul Yar Khan came and spent the morning with us, talking over the university scheme, which he warmly approves, but warns me that it runs great risk of failing in the working out, and would have me keep the management in my own hands. But this I cannot do. He says it must anyhow be independent of the Government here. He will do all he can for it in any case.

Later we went to the races, and I had a few words with Salar Jung about the university. I told him, unless he was prepared to take it up energetically we should look elsewhere than to Hyderabad. The people of the north were determined to have a university and if not here, would have it at Lucknow or Delhi. He spoke, however, strongly about it, promising to give it all his support, and quite admitted that the advantage received by the Hyderabad State would be as great as any it could give. I told him we did not need the Nizam's money, but his patronage, on account of his great name. He talked of Kalbarga or Aurangabad as suitable places, but Rasul Yar Khan is for Golconda, as being nearer to Hyderabad and containing plenty of buildings. We are, however, to dine tomorrow with Salar Jung, and discuss the whole matter, and the day after at a farewell dinner with the Nizam. If I can bring this to a good end I shall have done enough for one winter. I doubt if ever a university was imagined, planned, preached, and accepted before in six weeks from its first conception. This, however, is only gathering in a harvest I have ploughed

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and sowed for, and watered with my tears, for almost as many years.

I have spoken to Clerk about it, and he is strongly in favour of Aurangabad, where he says there are heaps of old buildings, and he introduced me to Mir Abdu-es-Salam (Ferdunji, the Parsi Talukdar is the next most important man at Aurungabad), chief Subar there, who happens to be at Hyderabad, and who invited us to stay with him at Aurangabad."

"10*th February*

Seyd Huseyn came next, and we talked the university scheme over fully. He foresaw great difficulties of administration, which I have no doubt he does not exaggerate. But I think his real doubt was as to the reality of the support I am counting on in the north. This I was able to remove by showing him the addresses I had received, especially from his own town, Lucknow, which bear the signatures of all the great Mulvis. I put it, however, plainly to him whether he was prepared to support the scheme thoroughly, as otherwise I should not risk establishing it at Hyderabad, and he promised to do his every best, especially when I had explained to him the political bearing it would have, and the influence it would bring to the Hyderabad State. We agreed, therefore, to act together in this matter, and it is only now a question of details. He does not fancy Golconda, saying it is unhealthy, and that the buildings there could not be given. He thinks Serinagar far better, but all would have to be built there from the ground. I fancy he would like to have the thing under his own eye and management, as he was formerly Professor at the Lucknow College. I do not, however, want the university to be too entirely under Government control here, as one never knows who may succeed to power."

"11*th February*

I had a long talk with Clerk about the university and he promised to do all he can to help it on. He thinks Kalbarga will do very well as its site, though he likes Aurangabad better. Salar Jung has written a note promising the Nizam's answer for tomorrow and he has telegraphed to the officials at Kalbarga to order all attention to be paid us tomorrow when we stop."

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The Scheme for a Mohammedan University proposed by Mr. Blunt to the Nizam on January 24, 1884 is given below:—

"THE MOHAMMEDAN UNIVERSITY

The lamentable decline, during the last forty years, of the Mohammedan community of India in wealth and social importance, while at the same time it has been numerically an ever-increasing body, makes it a matter of anxious consideration with those who love their religion to consider by what means best to avert the danger attending such a condition of things, and to restore prosperity to the community and its activity as a living and beneficial influence in the progress of the Empire.

It is acknowledged that the evil has been principally brought about by the changed condition of the country. From a ruling and favoured race, the Mohammedan community has become only one of many bodies unfavoured by the State; and the fall from their high station was at the time accompanied by a corresponding collapse of energy; while, later, accidental circumstances, such as the change of the official language from Persian and Urdu to English, still further aggravated their misfortunes.

These, though they may regret them, the Mohammedans now know that it is useless to complain of. They ceased to look for any reversal of the political settlement of India as a British province; and accepting the fact, they are fully aware that a new departure is necessary for them in correspondence with their new circumstances. Nor is this conviction lessened by the consideration that it would seem to be the tendency of the age to put every year more and more administrative power back into native hands, so that in the future there may be expected to be an ever-increasing competition between the various sections of Indian society for advantage under the imperial rule.

Again, it is no less acknowledged that, in the modern conditions of Indian life, that which principally conduces to the advantage of each community is its superiority in education. The force of natural character is no longer a sufficient element of success, and acquired intelligence is daily asserting itself more strongly as the condition of all participation in public life. Instruction in the arts and

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sciences of the Western world is at the present day an absolute necessity for high success; and even in the lower walks of life a certain knowledge of these things has become desirable for all perhaps but the lowest class bound to agricultural labour. Certainly no large community, such as is the Mohammedan in India, could hope to hold its own without a general increase of learning; and it is no longer contended by any section of the community that secular knowledge can be dispensed with, or that it is, if rightly directed, at all opposed to the best interests of religion.

On the other hand, it is equally certain that the majority of those who profess the faith of Islam look upon that faith as the most precious inheritance bequeathed them by their fathers, and decline to put it in peril for the sake of any worldly advantage. They consider that, in seeking the general good of a Mohammedan community, the first and absolute essential to be considered is the good of the Mohammedan religion; and this is their first thought, too, when the practical question of individual education comes before them. All Mohammedan fathers are desirous that, before everything else, their sons should inherit their own gift of faith in the one true God and the teaching of His apostle.

Thus, then, it happens that, while recognizing fully the necessity there is for worldly knowledge, the mass of respectable Mohammedans have held back, and still hold back, from the purely secular education afforded in Government schools and colleges to Hindus and Christians with themselves. They look with suspicion on the teaching, and with more than suspicion on the teachers. They refuse to believe that any education can be a sound one which is without a religious basis. They see that neither history nor philosophy nor Western literature can be taught by unbelievers in the divine mission of their Prophet without serious risk of undermining their pupils' faith; and they find no institution in India in which these necessary branches of human learning are taught to Mohammedans wholly by Mohammedans. Neither the Indian University, nor the Calcutta Madraseh, nor the Hooghly College, nor even the College of Aligarh entirely fulfil this condition. In the Indian University there is at the present moment no single Mohammedan professor. At the Madraseh, the president and many of the professors are Englishmen; and at Aligarh

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also the principal is an Englishman, and there are English and Hindi teachers. In none of them is there the certainty that religious influence other than Mohammedan shall not be brought to bear upon the students.

Lastly—and this is the most important consideration of all to the leaders of the Mohammedan community of India—they find in all the Empire, no central school of religious thought such as is to be found in other Mohammedan lands. Although their population is the largest of any now existing in the world, they are without a recognized seat of learning which can claim for them to be the fountainhead of orthodox opinion. They have no central body of Ulema, whose teaching and discussion should serve to keep alive the intellectual activity of the religious teachers and so give its tone to the whole mass. They feel this to be the most serious want of all their situation in presence of the growing intelligence of other religious bodies around them.

In view of all these circumstances the following resolutions have, therefore, been suggested, and are now put before the Mohammedan community at large:—

1. That in each town a Provincial Committee shall be formed, consider where and under what conditions it will be best to found an educational establishment on a large scale, which shall equally satisfy the religious and the secular wants of the community; and to raise subscriptions for that purpose.

2. That, this being done, a Central Committee shall be convened, the same to be composed of one delegate from each of the Provincial Committees, in order finally to decide the questions raised in the Provincial Committees.

3. That, if possible, his Highness the Nizam of the Deccan be asked to become the patron of a Central Establishment, as being the most powerful Mohammedan prince now reigning in India, and that a humble petition be addressed to his Highness in that sense.

The following suggestions also are made:—

1. That the educational establishment should take the form of a university, to be called the Deccan (?) University, empowered to grant degrees in religion and in secular knowledge, and to appoint professors in both branches of learning for such as shall repair to its metropolis (say

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Hyderabad) for their education. It is hoped that his Highness the Nizam may be pleased to grant a building to serve as university hall and lecture-rooms.

2. That, under the university, each province of the Indian Empire, or, if funds suffice, each great city, should erect or purchase at its own cost a building for its own students in the metropolis, the same to be called the college of that province or city, at which lodging (not board or furniture) should be provided at nominal rates to the students. These colleges should be the property of the provinces or cities erecting them, and should be managed by provincial or city trustees appointed by themselves in such manner (subject to the general laws of the university) as they shall themselves think most desirable. Thus each province or city would practically pay for and manage its own education.

3. That an appeal be made to the Mohammedan princes, noblemen, talukdars, zemindars and rich merchants to found professorships for the university, the same to bear the name of their founders, and to be vested as religious endowments in the hands of university trustees, the duty of the professors being to give gratuitous public lectures to all students of the university. A donation of Rs. 30,000 shall be considered equivalent to founding a professorship, and shall entitle the donor to have his name perpetually connected with it—this, although it may be hereafter considered necessary to increase the provision out of university funds. Such donors should moreover be granted the title of 'Founders' of the university, and should form its special council.

4. That a similar appeal be made to poorer men to found scholarships under the like conditions, except that Rs. 10,000 should be the sum entitling the donor to perpetual remembrance—the said scholarships to be granted in the form of monthly stipends of thirty rupees to such students as, having graduated in religious and secular knowledge in the university, may be chosen by special competition, on the condition that they shall act as this provision will be to spread religious and secular education throughout the country. The founder of three scholarships to have the same privilege and title as the founder of a professorship.

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5. That special provision be made in the scheme for the religious needs of the Shiah as well as of the Sunni communities.

6. That his Highness the Nizam be prayed to grant a perpetual charter regulating the university according to the rules usual in such institutions.

7. That a memorial be at the same time addressed to his Excellency the Viceroy of India, stating the objects of the University, and humbly praying the countenance of the Imperial Government for the scheme."

Salar Jung replied on this subject as follows:—

"Hyderabad Deccan,
February 13, 1884

My Dear Mr. Blunt,

I am desired by his Highness to inform you, in reply to your letter of the 24th of January, enclosing a memo embodying a scheme for the formation of a Mohammedan University, that his Highness cordially approves of your suggestions, and will give every support in his power to any attempt that may be made to carry them out. His Highness had the honour of holding a conversation with his Excellency the Viceroy during his short sojourn here, in the course of which he understood that his Excellency was prepared to countenance and support the scheme.

I am to say that his Highness regards the scheme as one calculated immensely to advance the cause of Mohammedan progress, and that he will be glad if Hyderabad is given the honour, by preference, of becoming the centre of the movement. As, however, the scheme has originated with you, and you have taken the trouble of ascertaining the views of the leading Mohammedans in all parts of India, his Highness would have wished that you had prolonged your stay in this country so as to see it carried out. In any case, if your other engagements give you time to pay another visit to Hyderabad, his Highness will be gratified to have your assistance in the matter. His Highness is glad to say that his Excellency the Viceroy has promised him his.

Believe me, yours very sincerely,

SALAR JUNG"

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Although the Muslim University Scheme proposed by W. S. Blunt was abandoned for reasons stated earlier, yet the idea of a Mohammedan College still persisted in Hyderabad. A meeting was held presided over by the Nizam in 1885, when a proposal for the establishment of a Muhammedan College at Hyderabad was taken up. Here is a reference to the meeting in the contemporary periodical *The Mahratta* of 26th April 1885[1]:—

"*Hyderabad to the front*

Whatever may be the shortcomings of the present Administration at Hyderabad, no one can question the singleness of purpose and the liberality of sentiment joined to devotion to work which is the characteristic of that Administration. The faults, and these again are very trivial in themselves arise from want of experience. The latest act of public good of this Administration has been to start a fund for the establishment of a Mahommedan College at Hyderabad. The meeting was held in a shamiana and was largely attended; but the principal feature of the meeting was the presence of His Highness the Nizam on the occasion. This feature was touched by the Nizam in his speech, who said that he himself had partially received the benefit of education. His Highness expressed his regret that he had not drunk deep at the fountain of knowledge; but what little he has received has been unfruitful since it has directed the attention of His Highness to the present low state of the Mahommedan community and caused him to take such an important part in the measure intended for their amelioration. His Highness at the same time observed that in future no employment would be conferred on one who was not educated. This will, no doubt, ensure that proper persons will soon educate themselves for entering into the Government service. His Highness was followed by the Minister who delivered a fine extempore speech. But we are told that the speech of Mr. Mehdi Ali, the Political Secretary, who wrote lately to the *Bombay Gazette* so feelingly on Mahommedan loyalty at the present crisis, was the speech of the day. His was a stirring speech we are told. We are glad to see that these are signs generally among the Mahommedans of a revival. Another feature of the College is to be that it is to be principally supported

1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Supplementary Volume for 1886, pp. 396-397.

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by subscriptions. His Highness put down a lakh of rupees as his grant with Rs. 500 a month, the Minister followed with a grant of Rs. 50,000 and Rs. 100 a month. About Rs. 3 lakhs were subscribed on the spot. This is a happy augury and a good commencement. The movement has every chance of success. The Nizam's Government has also promised assistance. The Native States are rapidly removing the educational wants of their respective States and, having large funds at their disposal with no war to dread and no Imperial relations to maintain or prestige to preserve, will soon bid fair to outrival the British territory in the possession of liberal institutions."

Even this scheme does not appear to have come to fruition, but the fillip given to educational activities continued and resulted in the establishment of the *Nizam College* in 1887.

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Chapter XIX

HYDERABAD IN 1885

By the year 1885, Hyderabad was well set on the road to progress in the field of education as well as in the growth of an educated class, which steadily moulded public opinion in the State. A number of educational institutions had sprung up in the cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad by this time. Apart from Government schools like *Darul-ulum* High School, the City High School, the Chaderghat High School, the *Madrasa-e-Aliya*, the *Madrasa-e-Aizza*, Christian missionaries had also started schools like the St. George's Grammar School, the St. Ann's Convent, the All Saints School, the Wesley School, etc. Private effort was also forthcoming in the educational expansion and a number of schools were opened by philanthropists in the twin cities. Among these mention must be made of the *Mufeed-ul-anam* High School, the Dharmavant High School, the Keys' High School for girls and the Mahboob College, Secunderabad. The last two institutions owed their foundation to public-spirited men like Somasundaram Modaliar and Ramachandra Pillay. Among professional institutions, the Medical College and the Engineering College were noteworthy. Due to these institutions a number of educated persons were attracted to Hyderabad from various parts of the country. Among these, men like Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya and others were to play a prominent part in the intellectual life of Hyderabad. In later times young men also started proceeding to England for higher studies, with the encouragement of Salar Jung and his administration. A legal profession had also come into existence by this time in Secunderabad and in the Residency Bazars in Hyderabad. The press also started playing a prominent role in the life of the State by this time. The earliest English newspaper was *The Deccan Times* which was started in 1864. The following is the list of journals, English and Urdu, which made their appearance during the period to which this volume relates:—

In 1859 the Urdu Medical Monthly *Risala Tibbi* was started.

„ 1864 *The Deccan Times*, an English newspaper, was started in Secunderabad.

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In 1866 the Government Press started functioning.

„ 1874 the Urdu Literary Monthly *Makhzanul-Fawaid* was started.

„ 1878 the Urdu Weekly *Asiful Akhbar* was started.

„ 1878 the Urdu Monthly *Risala Muqannin-e-Deccan* was started.

„ 1880 the Urdu Monthly *Adib* was started.

„ 1880 the Urdu Weekly *Shafiq* was started.

„ 1882 the Urdu Monthly *Moallime Shafiq* was started.

„ 1882 the *Hyderabad Telegraph* was started.

„ 1882 the Urdu Weekly *Shoukat-ul-Islam* was started.

„ 1883 the Urdu Daily *Hazar Dastan* was started.

„ 1883 the Urdu Monthly *Irum-e-Deccan* was started.

„ 1883 the Urdu Monthly *Dastan-e-Sayyah* was started.

„ 1883 the Urdu Monthly *Mazaq-e-Sukhun* was started.

„ 1883 the Urdu Monthly *Guldast-e-Mushtaq* was started.

„ 1883 the Urdu Monthly *Funun* was started.

„ 1884 the Urdu Monthly *Rafiq-e-Deccan* was started.

„ 1884 the Urdu Daily *Daik-e-Asafi* was started.

„ 1884 the Urdu Weekly *Muallim-e-Shafiq* was started.

„ 1885 the Urdu Weekly *Akhbar-e-Asafi* was started.

„ 1885 the Urdu Monthly *Jowhar-e-Sukhun* was started.

„ 1885 the *Hyderabad Records* was started.

As has been mentioned in an earlier chapter Mohib Hussain, the editor of *Muallim-e-Shafiq,* threw open the columns of his periodical to the articles of Jamaluddin Afghani in 1880. The attitude taken by this paper was greatly independent of the policies followed by the administration of

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Hyderabad in those days. The Russian advance in Central Asia, the happenings in Eygpt and the Sudan and the Ilbert Bill, were at this time exercising the minds of the people to a great extent. The British were anxious to win the support of the Indians in their policy towards Russia and Egypt. They succeeded in this to a great extent. Typical of this support given by the Hyderabad official class to British policy in regard to Russia is described in the letter of Moulavi Mehdi Ali, Mooneer Nawaz Jung, who was then the Political and Financial Secretary to the Government of Hyderabad. This letter was published on 16th March 1885 and appeared in *The Bombay Gazette*. It is reproduced below:—

"Sir,——Will you allow me, as a Mahomedan, who has been for many years in the service of the British Government, who has had practical experience of almost every province of India, and who has, of late years, attained a post of some eminence and responsibility in the leading Mahomedan State, to give you some of my opinions on the present crisis.

We have heard, from our forefathers, of the Russians and their advance. Of late years we have been told by eminent English politicians that the object of Russia is not invasion or aggresion, but civilization. We have frequently read her assurances that she intends to go thus far and no farther, and we have as frequently seen these assurances broken by a fresh advance. But throughout all we have been told that the advance of Russia on India is a "Bugbear", and those who thought differently have been laughed at as participators in the "Russian scare".

In 1871, when England's former ally, France, was in her extremity, Russia seized the opportunity to tear up the provisions of the treaty regarding the Black Sea. In 1876, she again made an attack on Turkey amidst the approbation of the English Liberal party, and was only checked by the bold attitude of England under the Conservatives. Since then, she has been steadily advancing towards the Indian frontier. Khiva has long been left in her rear; Merv and Sarakhs have been annexed ; and now in 1885, when England's hands are full, we read that the Russian advance party has come within measurable distance of Herat, that a collision with the Afghans is daily expected, and that Sir Peter Lumsden, with his small Boundary Force, has been ordered to defend Herat.

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We have read Russian denunciations of England; we see that she is under the impression that once in India she will be welcomed by every Native State; and we have even seen the programme of a campaign in India published in Russian papers, in which we are told that Russia's policy is to strike a blow against England in India, in order eventually to get Constantinople. The advance of Russia is no longer a "scare" or "bugbear", but an actual fact.

And what is the effect of this advance upon the Native States and peoples of India? Do we look upon Russia as a liberator? No! most emphatically, No! Russian rule means not only imperialism, but despotism ; Russian Rule means corruption of justice, the stifling of public opinion, tyranny and oppression of a bureaucracy, and servile courts of justice. Russia may introduce comparative civilization in Khiva or Bokhara. In such countries her rule may mean progress; in India it would mean retrogression.

But, say the Russian theorists, India is sighing under the yoke of an alien conqueror and will welcome us as deliverers. Is this true? Again I say, No! At what stage of the world's history has there been a free and united India? Was it when the Aryans poured in crowds over the Hindo Koosh, settled in the fertile valley of the Ganges, spread towards the south, and made subject every aboriginal race that came across their path? Was it when every Hindoo kingdom was fighting against the other? Was it when the Mahomedan armies under the Caliph's generals subdued the north? Was it when there were at least a dozen independent Mahomedan kingdoms with as many Hindoo Rajas? Was it when the Afghans took Delhi, or when the Tartars founded a dynasty; and finally, was it free and united when the Mogul Aurangzebe subdued every prince Hindu or Mahommedan, from Peshawar to Cape Comorin? Or after Aurangzebe's death, when the Mogul Empire fell to pieces? Was India free and united when ravaged by the hordes of Gholam Khader, of the Mahratta Peishwas, and of Nadir Shah? Again No! India has never been free until the British appeared on the scene, and she did not know what peace meant until she heard of the *Pax Britannica*. Are the English more alien to the people of India than Afghan Sultan, or than Mogul Emperors? For seven hundred years the States of India fought against the alien rulers, whose main policy was bloodshed and rapine. It is only during the last eighty years that we have enjoyed

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peace, because our present rulers have left us nothing more to fight for. English peace we know, and English justice and civilization. Can, then, any one, for a moment, think that we shall welcome Russian despotism, and Russian corruption? It is said that the Native States are dissatisfied, and the people discontented. Are there any grounds for these statements? No doubt, there are many who have grievances. Mysore would like to have her tribute reduced; Hyderabad would like to get back the Berars; Scindia would like to have the fort of Gwalior restored; Travancore would like to have two more guns added to her salute; the educated Baboos and B.A.'s would like to have more appointments thrown open to them. All this is, no doubt, true; but does the ventilation of these grievances mean disloyalty and discontent? Again, No! What are these grievances compared with what the princes and the peoples have had to suffer for centuries before the British rule? In former times a conqueror made a desert and called it peace. Death was often the punishment for defence against an unprovoked attack. The nephew assassinated his uncle; the son poisoned his father, and murdered his brothers; a faithful servant was rewarded by fine, imprisonment, and often death. No one put forward a grievance unless he had an army to back it up with. As for the people they were silent, for protest meant further oppression. It is because the people of India have learnt to put faith in British justice that now so many complaints are heard. They have learnt that courts of justice are independent; that a British judge does not hesitate to give an award against the Government if the latter is in the wrong; that the higher official is ready to hear an appeal against the order of his subordinate; and that British justice is no respecter of persons, and gives the lowest subject an opportunity of appealing to the court of the Empress. This is the reason why they now come forward with confidence. Their complaints are proofs rather of loyalty than of disloyalty. Of course, in an Empire so large as India it is impossible that all can be satisfied. Even British officials are human, and *humanum est errare*. The British, as a nation, are just, but still there are individuals who commit injustice. In the name, therefore, of my fellow-subjects, I protest against an expression of grievances being considered a sign of disloyalty.

I have, I think, answered the question as to whether the natives of India wish for Russia, but there remains another

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question to consider: whether we think that she will ever get India?

Why should she? In order to put an army of 1,00,000 men on this side of the Khyber Pass or at Quetta, she would, we are told, require an army of at least half a million men to keep her communications open. This is, of course, supposing that she has only to deal with England. But if Turkey and Persia who are hereditary enemies of Russia, were also called in, she would probably require an army of three times the number. It seems that the Liberals will have nothing to do with Turkey, but this, I think, is a mistake. Turkey has more to fear than England in India. Each blow struck at India, as Soboleff frankly told us, is meant to bring Russia a step nearer the Bosphorus. Had England helped Turkey more in 1876, it is probable that the Russians would not now be so near Herat. But, after all, this is a matter of secondary consideration. If England cannot hold India against Russia without the aid of Turkey or any other power, she can scarcely hope that her rule will be a lasting one. Let us even suppose that Russia is able to plant an army of 100,000 men at Peshawar or at Quetta. Is an army of this size, or of even double the number, to conquer India? There are in Hindustan 180,000 British and native troops, and at least 250,000 troops belonging to Native States, and yet we learn that it is with difficulty that we could send 50,000 men to the front. Why is this? Because not only will you not make use of the armies of the Native Princes, but, as they are lying idle, you have to keep two-thirds of your army in garrison to keep them in check. Our armies are now useless for purposes of Imperial defence, because they are badly armed, officered, and disciplined. Why should you not take them in hand? Fix number of soldiers to be maintained by each State, give them good arms, lend them your own officers, and give them the same supervision as your own troops. During peace, these armies might remain in the States in which they were raised, but in war each prince would gladly send out his army headed by one of his own relatives as a general to serve under the orders of the English Commander-in-Chief.

Your own garrisons could then be released, because there would be no longer idle levies to overawe, and you could, at any moment, meet a Russian army of 100,000 men with three times the number. Do you fear that, with troops bet-

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ter armed, disciplined, and officered, we should combine against you? For what purpose? Certainly not to help Russia. What then? Would Scindia and Holkar combine to put the Nizam on the throne of Delhi? Or would the Nizam send a single regiment to make either Mysore, Holkar, or Scindia Emperor of India? It is true that these States have some petty grievances which, if they helped you in war, you might be more willing to listen to, but not one of these grievances is of such a nature that any Native State would dream of firing off a shot in support of it. As I said before, you have left us nothing to fight about, but we are willing to fight for you on behalf of the country, which we cannot rule ourselves, and which you rule better than any other conqueror that has been in your place. At present India is like the bundle of sticks: separately, each one can be broken, but bind them together, and let the tie be British rule, and you will find that not only will Russia not be able to break the faggot, but that the faggot will break Russia's back.

But there is one hint that I would make, and it is this. Do not be too ready to listen to vague rumours or to entertain unworthy suspicions. Discourage the secret information which is given by interested parties, for at every Indian court there is unfortunately a host of intriguers, who will spread rumours and disseminate lies, not so much to excite rebellion or discontent, as to cast discredit upon those into whose shoes they wish to step; aid us with your countenance and advice, and your show of confidence will stimulate our loyal endeavours. It is this trait of Lord Ripon's policy that had called forth such unprecedented enthusiasm throughout the country.

One word more, and I have done. It is alleged that the Mahomedans in India sympathize with the Mahdi of the Soudan. This is not true. In the first place the Shias, who form one-half of the Mahomedan population, do not expect the appearance of a Mahdi. He was, they say, born 1,100 years ago, and is still hiding. As regards the Sunnees, they do not believe in the present claimant, because he does not fulfil the conditions of the true Mahdi, one of which is that he must appear at Mecca. When the pretensions of the self-styled Mahdi are spoken of amongst Mahomedans of India, they are only alluded to to be laughed at.

Those persons who call the whole of India disloyal are good enough to say that the Mahomedans of India are most

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disloyal. This I deny; the Mahomedans have reason to be very loyal and grateful. When the British began to interfere in Indian politics, the Mahomedan power was broken, and it is the English who probably saved the Mahomedans from extermination by Sikhs or Mahrattas. Since then no opportunity has been neglected to promote our interests. Special advantages have been given to the employment of Mahomedans, and special steps have been taken to encourage their education. England is, in reality, the head of the first Mahomedan nation in the world, and her previous policy of support to Turkey entitles her to the respect of all good Mahomedans. To Lord Dufferin, in particular, at the present time, we look with confidence for a continuance of that policy. He knows the Turks and Turkey well, and since the days of the great "elchi", he has done more than any other man to uphold the dignity of the English name in Mahomedan countries. By his own words in Bombay he has shown himself a friend to us, and in return we look upon him as a friend.

Hitherto I have spoken on behalf of the people of India generally, and of the Mahomedans, in particular. Allow me to add that, as regards the State I serve, the feeling is one of enthusiastic loyalty, and should there ever again be a crisis in India we will guarantee that Hyderabad will be found as loyal and as staunch as she was in 1857. All that we now want is that you should give us a chance of showing our loyalty.

I remain etc.,

Hyderabad,
March 16.

Mehdi Ali,
Mooneer Nawaz Jung,
Political and Financial Secretary to
H.H. the Nizam's Government."[1]

But the view taken by the press was well understood than what would appear from the letter of Mahdi Ali.

The paper *Hazar Dastan* appeared first as a *Weekly* in 1883 but later became a *Daily* from April 1885. Its editor Mohamed Sulaiman Akhil belonged to Delhi. He migrated to Hyderabad in 1883 and started the *Hazar Dastan*. The paper was outstanding in its comments on British policies. For example, under the caption "What help can India render to the Government in case of war with Russia", the

1. *Hyderabad Affairs*, Supplementary Volume for 1886, pp. 377-380.

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Hazar Dastan commented as follows on April 21, 1885:—

"If war breaks out the Indians would only gather in their mosques and temples and pray to God that they might be spared the necessity of participation in this war. Our British Government takes pride in the fact that it has turned a manly nation into an impotent one. We do not say that the Arms Act promulgated after 1857 was improper but to continue it for such a long time is hateful and senseless policy."

In connection with the Ilbert Bill, the paper strongly criticised the hostility evinced by the Europeans against the bill.

The following extract from a pamphlet entitled *Freedom Movement, Series No. IV, the Awakening of Public opinion* by K. Sajan Lal, Osmania University, features the views of the *Hazar Dastan* on the Ilbert Bill question[1]:—

" 'The agitation against the Bill became dangerous from the fact that it was all along fostered by the Anglo-Indian officials who chose the Bill as a Battlefield on which to contest the principle of Lord Ripon's liberal policy. These were aided by the English lawyers who recognised in it a menace to their professional advancement.' (*Hazar Dastan,* dated 21st August 1883).

Many reasonable letters on the Ilbert Bill were bagged by the Punjab Postal Department, which again shows the sinister motives of the English. All the Railway Anglo-Indian staff, too opposed the Bill.

'.....they saw in this Bill, another attempt of Ripon's Government to exalt the Indian and to dethrone the European.' (*Hazar Dastan,* dated 5th September, 1883).....

In an article under the caption " Who is a traitor?" the writer prominently displays the methods of the English in opposing tooth and nail the Ilbert Bill. 'Are not the Englishmen traitors to the Queen, when they call her representative Lord Ripon, an ass, pig, etc.? Are not the Indigo Planters of Muzzaferpur who openly defy the Ilbert Bill, traitors? Is it not a fact that the Volunteers had openly threatened that they would leave their post, if the Bill was passed? Are they not traitors? Is not the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, who led the opposition party to the Ilbert Bill, a traitor? What a pity, thousand pities, these Englishmen in spite of

1. *Op. cit.,* pp. 24-27.

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such nefarious activities are called faithful to the Queen. For them there is no Arms Act. For Indians, all sorts of suspicions, doubts are harboured. These Englishmen by their example, precept, methods and history, are teaching us to revolt against the Government.' (*Hazar Dastan,* 5th October, 1883).

Another article appeared under the heading *"Dil Saf Kahanse Ho Ke Insaf Nahi."*

The *Hazar Dastan* wrote that Lord Ripon did a great service to India by his attempt to bring equality between Indians through the Ilbert Bill. The feeling of racial hatred which had done great harm would be healed to a certain extent. It was in the interest of the Englishmen themselves to make India their home. It adds that the number of Indian Magistrates is not more than fifty who would be benefited under the Bill. 'Why should the English cry over this Bill, one could not understand?' says the paper. It warns them that they should give up their old ideas of the conqueror.....

Another editorial of the Urdu Newspaper says that the opposition of the English to the Ilbert Bill had clearly demonstrated that the English still wanted to treat the Indians as slaves. One more paper says that the modification of the Ilbert Bill had belied the fond hopes of Indians that the English Government would treat them as equals. The very fact that the Home Government had yielded to the pressure of the Anglo-Indian, showed that there could be no hope of justice at the hands of the Government.....

The Bill also showed a few pro-English Indians in their true colours. These were afraid to side and support the Bill, for the fear of losing their jobs or the honours. To one such, the Urdu Press called '*mulki namak haram*'."

The comments of the *Hazar Dastan* quoted above are a typical example of the attitude in general which the press in Hyderabad took in those days.

Nor were the papers lacking in the criticism of the administration of the day. As is well known, Hyderabad in 1885 had become a hotbed of intrigues among the officials due to the differences between Salar Jung II, the Prime Minister, and the Nizam. The Resident was frequently in-

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terfering in the internal affairs of the State. This gave rise to a powerful clique of officials taking sides in the dispute which ultimately led to the resignation of Salar Jung II in 1887.

In criticising the administration the press had to face great difficulties. One example of the treatment meted out to the newspapers and their editors is given below:—

(1)

"The following letter appeared in the *Statesman* of June 2, 1885:—

'Sir,——I beg to bring the following facts to your notice as it concerns the liberty of the Press: A correspondent of the *Shafak* inserted a letter in that paper, commenting on the conduct of certain officials of the Nizam's Forest Department; he also stated that Mr. Dobbs, the Superintendent of the Department, was ignorant of the Urdu and Persian languages, and therefore was in a manner unable to cope with the mismanagement of the subordinates of his department. Mr. Dobbs, I believe, directed one or two of his subordinates who were brought prominently before the public in the letter in question, to proceed criminally against the Editor and the correspondent. The matter was complained of to the Residency Magistrate, Mr. Dobbs (brother of the Superintendent), who issued warrants for the apprehension of the Editor and the correspondent; both were not released until bail was furnished. Since then the prosecutors have called at the *Shafak* office, begging to be excused and to compromise the case. This appears to me to be a rather novel proceeding so far as relates to the arrest of the Editor, because he was ready to hand to the Court, or the parties interested, the *original letter,* if required. Even for this there was no need, as the correspondent had signed his name and address in full. Besides, in my opinion, the letter was not of such a nature as to call for the severe course taken. His arrest therefore appears to be out of sheer malice. Where on earth would be the liberty of the Press and the security of Editors, if arrests were made so common? The *Shafak* is the only non-party paper in Hyderabad, and ever since I have known it, it has not spared to bring to light the evils which are perpetrated so often both by the officials of His Highness the Nizam and the Residency. Such a paper requires the unflinching support of the public, and any outrage

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on it ought to be speedily vindicated. The powers that be are dreadfully against the *Shafak* and would like to see it suppressed without doubt.

Hyderabad, May 26, 1885.

A RESIDENT.' "[1]

(2)

" *Statesman,* July 1, 1885:—We think it right to call the attention of the Government of India to the prosecution that has been entered at Hyderabad against the *Shafak* newspaper, for an alleged libel concerning the Superintendent of the Nizam's Forest Department, which libel, it is complained, appeared in a letter from a correspondent published in its columns. Both the editor of the paper and the writer of the letter, we are told, have been arrested on the charge; an unusual proceeding of itself. The *Shafak,* it may be remembered, is the journal which had the courage to protest two years ago against the appointment of the convict Hunmunt Rao to the charge of the Nizam's treasury. For the most proper discharge of its duty, the editor was summoned before the cantonment magistrate, Colonel Campbell, who resides, we believe, in the Residency, and was impudently threatened by Colonel Campbell with immediate deportation from the territory if he dared to comment again upon any proceedings of the Nizam's Minister. Now, this Hunmunt Rao was the gentleman who opened the Nizam's treasury to Mr. Trevor, the ex-Resident's brother, for the trifling sum of a lakh of rupees. This nice protege of the Residency had been sent to jail by the late Sir Salar Jung for frauds upon the treasury; and in spite of the attempt of the Residency to save him, he was removed from the treasury upon the young Minister coming into power, eighteen months ago. But the *Shafak* has of course been a marked paper ever since, and today we are told of its editor being brought before Colonel Campbell, on a charge of libelling the Superintendent of the Forest Department. A good deal of 'libelling', we reasonably suspect, is wanted in the neighbourhood of Secunderabad; but what is very certain is, that Colonel Campbell ought not to try this case, but ought himself long since to have been removed for threatening the paper in 1883 for its most proper protest against Hunmunt Rao's appointment to the treasury."[2]

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1. *Hyderabad Affairs,* Supplementary Volume for 1886, pp. 400-401.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 404-405.

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One reform carried out in 1884-1885 by the administration was the switch over from Persian as the language of administration to Urdu by an order dated 21st February 1884. The Hyderabad Government laid down that the language of the courts should henceforward be Urdu. This was extended to all other branches of administration in August 1886. The elimination of Persian as the court language and its replacement by Urdu had a profound effect on the progress of education in the country. From now onwards the educationalists in the State were attracted towards the medium of Urdu as a means of educational progress in the State. It was at this juncture that the Indian National Congress was founded on 28th December 1885. On that day it met for the first time at 12 noon in the hall of the Gopal Das Tejpal Sanskrit College, Bombay, an event which attracted widespread attention and evoked support from the leading public men of Hyderabad like Mulla Abdul Qayum, Ramchandra Pillay, Mohib Hussain and Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyaya. The effect on Hyderabad of the forces released by the National Congress will be dealt with in the next phase of the freedom struggle in Hyderabad covering the period 1885-1920.

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